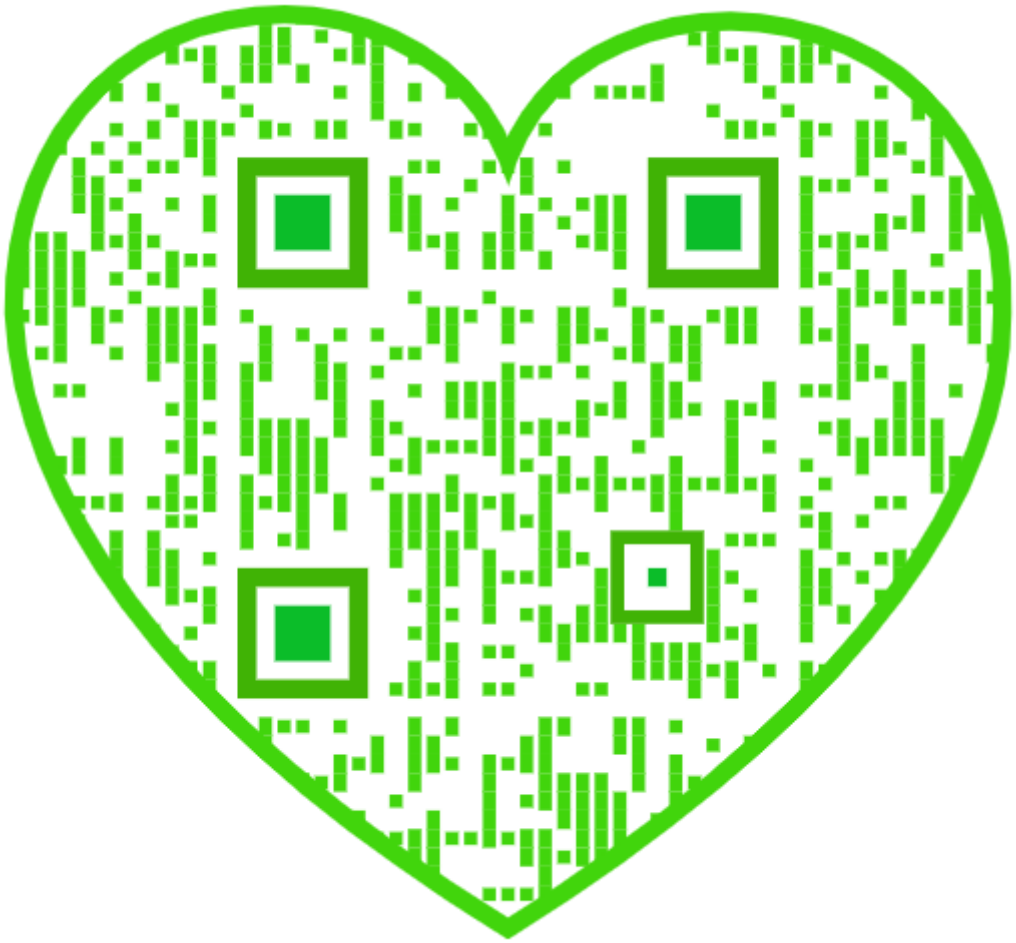


THE POLITICS OF ARISTOTLE

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH

WITH INTRODUCTION, MARGINAL ANALYSIS

ESSAYS, NOTES AND INDICES

BY

B. JOWETT, M.A.

MASTER OF BALLIOL COLLEGE

REGIUS PROFESSOR OF GREEK IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

DOCTOR IN THEOLOGY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF LEYDEN

LIBRARY

VOL. I

CONTAINING THE INTRODUCTION AND TRANSLATION

Oxford

AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

1885

[*All rights reserved*]

UNIV. OF
CALIFORNIA

R448
A55'6
v.1.

General

305/K

TO THE

REV. WILLIAM ROGERS,

RECTOR OF BISHOPSGATE,

WHO BY

THE KINDNESS OF HIS HEART,

AND THE FORCE OF HIS CHARACTER,

HAS GIVEN A NEW LIFE TO EDUCATION

IN THE CITY OF LONDON,

THIS WORK

IS AFFECTIONATELY INSCRIBED.

UNIV. OF CALIFORNIA
LIBRARY OF THE UNIVERSITY CALIFORNIA.

PREFACE.

THE translation of the Politics which is now given to the public was commenced about fifteen years since, with the intention of illustrating the Laws of Plato. A rough draft was made by the translator, which he had the advantage of reading over with Mr. Alfred Robinson, of New College. But finding the work more difficult than he had anticipated, he determined to begin again and re-write the whole. He was insensibly led on to the preparation of a commentary and an analysis. Other subjects of a more general character, which arose out of the study of Aristotle's Politics, naturally took the form of essays[1]. These will be published shortly and will complete Vol. II. The translation

[1] The subjects of the Essays will be as follows:—

1. The Life of Aristotle.
2. The Structure and Formation of some of the Aristotelian Writings, to which are added three Appendices:
   (i) On Books V, VI, VII of the Nicomachean and Eudemian Ethics:
   (ii) On the Order of the Books of the Politics:
   (iii) On the Order of the Books of the Metaphysics.
3. On the Style and Language of the Politics.
4. On the Text of the Politics.
5. Aristotle as a Critic of Plato.
6. Aristotle's Contributions to History.
7. Aristotle's Politics.
8. The Spartans and their Institutions.
9. Aristotle as a Political Philosopher.

was printed more than two years ago, and before the appearance of Mr. Welldon's excellent book. The editor has availed himself of the opportunity which the delay afforded to add in the Notes his second thoughts on some doubtful passages.

He has to acknowledge the great assistance which he has received from several friends, especially from Mr. David Ritchie in the composition of the Notes, and from Mr. Evelyn Abbott in the criticism of them. He has also to express his gratitude to his friend and secretary, Mr. Matthew Knight, for the excellent Indices he has prepared both of the Text and Notes, and for many valuable suggestions which occur in different parts of the book. He wishes that Mr. Knight could be induced to bestow on some work of his own the knowledge and thought which he devotes to the writings of another.

The Editor has to apologize for a delay in the fulfilment of his task, which has arisen necessarily out of the pressure of other avocations. He had hoped that his work would have been completed some years ago. An author generally finds that his literary undertakings exceed the measure of time which he has assigned to them; they grow under his hand; the years which he has spent upon them quickly pass, and at last he too often fails of satisfying either himself or the public. When he has nearly finished, if ever, he feels that he is beginning to have a greater command of his subject; but he is obliged to make an end. He may perhaps claim to know better than any one else the deficiencies

of his own performance; but he knows also that he cannot expect to be heard if he attempts to excuse them.

It is a 'regrettable accident' that this book will probably appear about the same time with another edition of the Politics of Aristotle, also to be published at the Clarendon Press, the long expected work of an old friend and pupil, Mr. Newman, Fellow and formerly Tutor of Balliol College, which would not have been delayed until now, if the 'bridle of Theages' (Plato, Rep. vi. 496 B) had not retarded the progress of the author. Those who remember the enthusiasm which was aroused by his brilliant lectures on this and other subjects a quarter of a century ago will take a great interest in the result of his labours. I gladly welcome the ὀψίγονον τέκος and offer hearty wishes for the success of the work.

The editor of a Greek or Latin classic generally owes a large debt to his predecessors. In some one of them he will probably find the collation of the text ready to his hand, or at least carried to such an extent that to pursue the enquiry further would lead to no adequate result. The difficult passages have already been translated by them many times over, and the use of words and idioms has been minutely analyzed by them. There are innumerable parallels and illustrations, relevant and also irrelevant, which have been collected by their industry. The new Editor freely appropriates the materials which they have accumulated; nor can he greatly

add to them. He is no longer the pioneer; he enters into the labours of others, and is responsible for the use which he makes of them. The field in which he has to work is limited; the least of the kingdoms into which physical science is subdivided is greater and more extended. It is an ancient branch of knowledge on which he is employed; a mine out of which, with care, some good pieces of ore may still be extracted, but which does not yield the same rich profits as formerly. And he is in danger of finding that 'what is new is not true, and that what is true is not new.' He knows how often conjectures which cannot be disproved have taken the place of real knowledge. He can only hope that the constant study of his author, the interpretation of him from his own writings, the dismissal of all prejudices and preconceptions may throw some fresh light upon the page. It will not always be easy for him to determine what he has thought out for himself and what he has derived from others, and still less to distinguish what in former editors is their own and what they in turn have derived from their predecessors. No one who has spent many years in the study of an author can remember whether a thought occurred to him spontaneously or was suggested by the remark of another. There is therefore the more reason that he should make his acknowledgments to those who have preceded him.

The writer of these volumes is under great obligations to Schlosser, whose good sense and manly criticism are of great value in the interpretation of

the Politics; he is also much indebted to Schneider, who is a sound scholar and a distinguished critic both of Aristotle and Plato; as well as to A. Stahr and Bernays who have made accurate and finished translations, Stahr of the whole work, Bernays of the three first books; above all to the learning of Susemihl, who is not only the author of a new translation, but has also made a fuller collection of all the materials necessary either for the study of the text or the illustration of the subject than any previous editor; lastly to Immanuel Bekker, the father of modern textual criticism, who has not left much to be improved in the text of Aristotle. The commentary of Goettling has likewise a good deal of merit. I am indebted for a few references to Mr. Eaton's edition of the Politics, and to Mr. Congreve for several excellent English expressions, and still more for his full and valuable indices.

The editor, like many of his predecessors, has been led to the conclusion that the Politics of Aristotle exist only in a questionable and imperfect shape. He cannot say that the work is well arranged or free from confusion of thought or irregularities of style and language. To assume a perfection or completeness which does not exist would contradict facts which are obvious on the surface. The worst kind of inaccuracy is pretended accuracy. No progress can be made in the study of Aristotle by an art of interpretation which aims only at reconciling an author with himself. Neither is there any use in seeking to reconstruct the Politics in another

form; no analysis of them will enable us to arrive at the secret of their composition. We cannot rehabilitate them by a transposition of sentences, or by a change in the order of the books; we must take them as they are. Real uncertainties are better than imaginary certainties. Yet the uncertainty in this instance is one of which the human mind is peculiarly impatient. For amid so much repetition and confusion great truths are constantly appearing which reflect the mind of the master. But to separate these by any precise line, to say 'here are the genuine words of Aristotle,' 'this the later addition,' is beyond the art of the critic. The student of Aristotle will do better to fix his mind on the thoughts which have had so vast an influence, and have so greatly contributed to the progress of mankind, and not to enquire too curiously into the form of the writing which contains them.

BALLIOL COLLEGE, OXFORD:
Sept. 8, 1885.

NOTE.

THE text of the Politics from which the Translation has been made, and to which the Notes refer, is that of Bekker's First Edition. The variations from this Text are indicated at the foot of the page in the Translation.

An Essay on the Text will be found in the Second Part of the Second Volume hereafter to be published.

ERRATA IN TRANSLATION

MENTIONED IN THE NOTES.

Page 77 (iii. 5, § 9), *for* 'to deceive the inhabitants' *read* 'that the privileged class may deceive their fellow citizens'

Page 141 (iii. 15, § 6), *for* 'A king must legislate' *read* 'There must be a legislator, whether you call him king or not'

Page 149 (v. 3, § 7) *for* 'having been cut to pieces' *read* 'after their army had been cut to pieces'

Ib. (ib. § 9) *for* 'Oreum' *read* 'Oreus'

INTRODUCTION.

THE writings of Aristotle are almost entirely wanting in the charm of style, and several of them cannot even be said to have the merit of clearness. In the Politics we are often unable to follow the drift of the argument; the frequent digressions and conflicting points of view which arise are troublesome and perplexing to us. We do not understand why the writer should again and again have repeated himself; why he should have made promises which he never fulfills; why he should be always referring to what has preceded, or to what follows. He sometimes crosses over from his own line of argument to that of his opponent; and then returns again without indicating that he has made a change of front. There are words and clauses which seem to be out of place; or at any rate not to be duly subordinated to the rest of the passage. No other work of genius is so irregular in structure as some of the Aristotelian writings. And yet this defect of form has not prevented their exercising the greatest influence on philosophy and literature; the half-understood words of Aristotle have become laws of thought to other ages.

With the causes of these peculiarities we are not at present concerned. The style of Aristotle runs up into the more general question of the manner in which his writings were compiled or have been transmitted to us. Are they the work of one or of many? Do they proceed from the hand or mind of a single writer, or are they the accumulations of the Peripatetic school? This is a question, like the controversy about the Homeric poems, which cannot be precisely answered. The original form of some of the Aristotelian writings will never be restored. We can hardly tell how or where they came into existence: how much is to be attributed to Aristotle, how much to his editors or followers,—whether

his first followers, such as Eudemus, or later editors, such as the Alexandrians, or Andronicus of Rhodes, or Tyrannion, the friend of Cicero. We cannot by the transposition of sentences make them clearer, nor by verbal conjecture remove small flaws in the reasoning, or inconsistencies in the use of words. The best manuscripts of the Ethics and Politics, though not of first-rate authority, are not much worse than the primary manuscripts of other Greek authors. The disease, if it is to be so regarded, lies deeper, and enters into the constitution of the work. The existing form of the Aristotelian writings is at least as old as the first or second century B. C.; it is in the main the Aristotle of Cicero, though he was also acquainted with other works passing under the name of Aristotle, such as the Dialogues, which are preserved to us only in fragments. If we go back in thought from that date to the time when they were first written down by the hand of Aristotle, or at which they passed from being a tradition of the school into a roll or book, we are unable to say in what manner or out of what elements, written or oral, they grew up or were compiled. We only know that several of them are unlike any other Greek book which has come down to us from antiquity. The long list of works attributed to Aristotle in the Catalogues also shows that the Aristotelian literature in the Alexandrian age was of an indefinite character, and admitted of being added to and altered.

But although we cannot rehabilitate or restore to their original state the Politics or the Nicomachean Ethics or the Metaphysics, we may throw them into a form which will make them easier and more intelligible to the modern reader. We may 1) present the argument stripped of digressions and additions; 2) we may bring out the important and throw into the background the unimportant points; 3) we may distinguish the two sides of the discussion, where they are not distinguished by the author; 4) we may supply missing links, and omit clumsy insertions; 5) we may take the general meaning without insisting too minutely on the connection. We cannot presume to say how Aristotle should or might have written; nor can we dream of reconstructing an original text which probably had no existence. But we may leave out the interlineations; we may make a difficult book easier;

LIBRARY OF THE UNIVERSITY CALIFORNIA.

we may give the impression of the whole in a smaller compass. We may be allowed, without violating any principle of criticism, to imagine how Aristotle would have rewritten or rearranged his subject, had our modern copies of the Politics fallen into his hands.

Many things become clearer to us when we are familiar with them. A sense of unity and power will often arise in the mind after long study of a writing which at first seemed poor and disappointing. Through the distinctions and other mannerisms of his school, the original thinker shines forth to any one who is capable of recognising him. Great ideas or forms of thought indicate a mind superior in power to the average understanding of the commentator or interpreter. We cannot be sure that any single sentence of the Politics proceeded from the pen of Aristotle, but this is no reason for doubting the genuineness of his works, if we take the term in a somewhat wider sense; for they all bear the impress of his personality. That which distinguishes him from Plato and the Neo-Platonists, from Isocrates and the rhetoricians, from the Stoics and Epicureans, from all Scholiasts and Commentators, is not the less certain because his writings have come down to us in a somewhat questionable shape. Even if they are the traditions of a school, the mind of the founder is reflected in them. The aim of the interpreter should be to simplify, to disentangle, to find the thought in the imperfect expression of it; as far as possible, to separate the earlier from the later elements, the true from the false Aristotle. The last, however, is a work of great nicety, in which we can only proceed on grounds of internal evidence and therefore cannot hope to attain any precise result. There may be said to be a *petitio principii* even in making the attempt, for we can only judge of the genuine Aristotle from writings of which the genuineness is assumed.

Any mere translation of Aristotle's Politics will be, in many passages, necessarily obscure, because the connexion of ideas is not adequately represented by the sequence of words. If it were possible to present the course of thought in a perfectly smooth and continuous form, such an attempt would be too great a departure from the Greek. It is hoped that the Analysis or short paraphrase

which follows may assist the student in grasping the general meaning before he enters on a minute study of the text; and that the reflections which are interspersed may enable him to read Aristotle in the light of recent criticism and history, and to take a modern interest in it, without confusing the ancient and modern worlds of thought. (Compare, in vol. ii, Essays on the Style of Aristotle, and on the Structure of certain of the Aristotelian writings.)

BOOK I.

A criticism on Plato,—the origin of the household, village, state,—the nature of property and more especially of property in slaves,—the art of household management, and its relation to the art of money-making,—literature of the subject,—some further questions concerning the relations of master and slave, husband and wife, parent and child.

The great charm of the writings of Plato and Aristotle is that they are original. They contain the first thoughts of men respecting problems which will always continue to interest them. Their thoughts have become a part of our thoughts, and enter imperceptibly into the speculations of modern writers on the same subjects, but with a difference. The Ionian and Eleatic philosophers who preceded them were eclipsed in the brightness of their successors; they had not yet reached the stage of ethics or politics, and were little known to the ancients themselves. The ethical teaching of Socrates has been preserved and not been preserved; that is to say, it does not exist in any definite form or system. To us, therefore, Plato and Aristotle are the beginnings of philosophy. In reading them the reflection is often forced upon us: 'How little have we added except what has been gained by a greater experience of history!' Some things have come down to us with

'Better opinion, better confirmation:'

they have acquired authority from age and use. But there are other truths of ancient political philosophy which we have forgotten, or

which have degenerated into truisms. Like the memories of childhood they are easily revived, and there is no form in which they so naturally come back to us as that in which they were first presented to mankind.

For example, during the last century enlightened philosophers have been fond of repeating that the state is only a machine for the protection of life and property. But the ancients taught a nobler lesson, that ethics and politics are inseparable; that we must not do evil in order to gain power; and that the justice of the state and the justice of the individual are the same. The older lesson has survived; the newer is seen to have only a partial and relative truth. So for the liberty, equality, and fraternity of the French revolution we are beginning to substitute the idea of law and order; we acknowledge that the best form of government is that which is most permanent, and that the freedom of the individual when carried to an extreme is suicidal. But these are truths which may be found in Aristotle's Politics. Thus to the old we revert for some of our latest political lessons. The idealism of Plato is always returning upon us, as a dream of the future; the Politics of Aristotle continue to have a practical relation to our own times.

But while we are struck with the general similarity, we are almost equally struck by the different mode in which the thoughts of ancient and modern times are expressed. To go no further than the first book of the Politics, the method of Aristotle in his enquiry into the origin of the state is analytical rather than historical; that is to say, he builds up the state out of its elements, but does not enquire what history or pre-historic monuments tell about primitive man. He is very much under the influence of logical forms, such as means and ends, final causes, categories of quantity and quality, the antithesis of custom and nature, and other verbal oppositions, which not only express, but also dominate his meaning. The antagonism to Plato is constantly reappearing, and may be traced where the name of Plato is not mentioned; the rivalry of the two schools never dies out. The sciences are not yet accurately divided; and hence some questions, which present no difficulty to us, such as the relation of the art of house-

hold management to the art of money-making, are discussed at great length, and after all not clearly explained. Some good guesses are made about the nature of money, and some obvious fallacies remain undetected. The lending of money at a fair rate of interest is not distinguished from the usury which is so severely condemned. The universal custom of slavery presents a difficulty which Aristotle is unable to resolve on any clear or consistent principle. The tendency to pass from the absolute to the relative, or from a wider to a narrower point of view, as in the discussion respecting the slave and the artizan, the good citizen and the good man, the art of money-making, the perfect state,—is another element of confusion. The connection is often tortuous and unnatural. It would seem as if notes had been parenthetically inserted in the rough draft of the argument; and here and there considerable dislocations of the text may be suspected. There are favourite topics to which Aristotle is always returning; such, for example, as the Lacedaemonian constitution, which, like the constitution of Great Britain or of the United States, was a powerful idea, and exercised a great influence on the speculations of philosophers, as well as on the laws and customs of cities and peoples.

In the Politics as well as in Aristotle's other works, there are many indications that he was writing in an age of controversy, and surrounded by a voluminous literature. Had all the books which were written come down to us they would not have been scanned with the same minuteness, and they might perhaps have been studied in a larger and more liberal spirit. The excessive value set upon a small portion of them, and the fragmentary form in which they have been preserved, has given an extraordinary stimulus to the art of interpretation and criticism. Had there been more of them we should have seen them in truer proportions. We should not have spent so much time in deciphering them, and possibly they might not have exerted an equal influence over us. For the study of the classics has become inseparable from the critical method, which enters so largely into the mind of the nineteenth century. But this is a part of a great subject, which it would be out of place here to discuss further.

Every community aims at some good, and the state, which is the c. 1.
highest community, at the highest good. But of communities there are many kinds. And they who [like Plato and Xenophon] suppose that the king and householder differ only in the number of their subjects, or that a statesman is only a king taking his turn of rule, are mistaken. The difference is one of kind and not of degree, as we shall more clearly see, if, following our accustomed method, we resolve the whole into its parts or elements. For in order to understand the nature of things, we must inquire into their origin.

Now the state is founded upon two relations; 1) that of male and c. 2.
female; 2) that of master and servant; the first necessary for the continuance of the race; the second for the preservation of the inferior class or of both classes. From these two relations there arises, in the first place, the household, intended by nature for the supply of men's daily wants; secondly, the village, which is an aggregate of households; and finally, the state. The parent or elder was the king of the family, and so when families were combined in the village, the patriarchal or kingly form of government continued. The village was a larger family. When several villages were united, the state came into existence. Like the family or household, it originated in necessity, but went beyond them and was the end and fulfilment of them. For nature makes nothing in vain; and to man alone among the animals she has given the faculty of speech, that he may discourse with his fellows of the expedient and the just; and these are the ideas which lie at the basis of the state. In the order of time, the state is later than the family or the individual, but in the order of nature, prior to them; for the whole is prior to the part. As there could be no foot or hand without the body, so there could be no family or man, in the proper sense of the words, without the state. For when separated from his fellows, man is no longer man; he is either a god or a beast. There is a social instinct in all of us, but it requires to be developed; and he who by the help of this instinct organized the state, was the greatest of benefactors. For man, when perfected by law and justice, is the best,—when estranged from them, the worst of animals.

But before we enquire into the state, we must enquire into the c. 3.
household. In a complete household there are three relations:—

1) that of the master to the slave; 2) of the husband to the wife; 3) of the parent to the child:—What is and ought to be the character of each of these? There is also another element which we shall have to consider, the art of money-making, which is sometimes identified with household management. [But this is an error.]

Concerning the relation of master and slave, two views are entertained: 1) there is the doctrine [of Plato] that the rule of a master is a science [and therefore natural]; and that all kinds of rule are essentially the same: and there is the other doctrine, 2) that slavery is contrary to nature; and that the distinction between freemen and slaves is made by law only and not by nature, and is therefore unjust. [Before determining the questions which thus arise we must enquire into the nature of the slave.]

c. 4. The art of acquiring property is a part of the art of managing a household, and like other arts requires instruments; property is a collection of such instruments, living or lifeless. The slave is a living instrument, and the lifeless instruments are used by him; he is the first of a series. He is an instrument of action, not of production, for he does not produce; he only lives and serves his master, and life is action. But he is also a possession [and therefore the agent of another]; for he is intended by nature to belong to his master, though separable from him. He may be defined, 'a human being who is a possession and likewise an instrument of action.'

c. 5. But is there a slave by nature? There is: from the hour of their birth some are intended to command, others to obey; they work together, and the better the workman, the better the work. A ruling principle runs through the whole of nature and is discernible even in things without life, for example, in musical harmony. And in man there is a despotic rule which the soul exercises over the body, and a constitutional rule which the intellect exercises over the appetites. The higher principle has dominion whenever the soul and body are in their best state; the intention of nature is then fulfilled. The male rules and the female is ruled, for the good of both; and animals subjugated by man are better and better off than wild ones. For this rule of the superior by nature is the preservation of the subject or inferior. And the same principle

applies to slaves, but there is a difference: for the animal is only guided by instinct, whereas the slave, though he does not partake of reason, can apprehend reason. Where, then, one class of men presents a marked inferiority to another, there slavery is justified. And nature probably intended to make a visible distinction between freeman and slave, but she has not always succeeded, for some slaves have the souls or bodies of freemen, and some freemen the souls or bodies of slaves.

c. 6. On the other hand it has been argued that there is a slave by law as well as by nature. But this doctrine is indignantly denied by many jurists, who contend that to make the captive taken in war the slave of the victor is an act of great injustice. The question runs up into the wider question: 'What is justice?' Some say that virtue when furnished with external goods is power, and that justice is only the rule of a superior; while others distinguish between justice and virtue, and assert justice to be benevolence. If these two propositions are simply opposed, the result is an absurdity. For the truth of a third proposition [which combines them], viz. that the benevolent rule of a superior in virtue is just, can hardly be contested. Others again appeal to custom, which they identify with justice; but this is a view which cannot be consistently maintained. For a war which is justified by custom may nevertheless be an unjust war, or the person enslaved may be unworthy to be made a slave. 'Hellenes never can be slaves;' they are noble everywhere, even when taken in war; but the barbarians are noble only in their own country. Does not this use of language clearly imply that there are two classes of men, the slave by nature, and the freeman by nature? And where there is a marked superiority in one class and a marked inferiority in another, there the relation of master and slave springs up; and this relation, when arising naturally and not resting merely on law and force, is a kindly and beneficent one. [In slavery then the rule of the superior is combined with benevolence; and therefore on both grounds it is justice.]

c. 7. The question respecting the different kinds of rule on which we touched before is now set at rest. The master has been shown to exercise an absolute rule over his slaves, unlike the constitutional

rule which the statesman exercises over his fellow-citizens. And master and slave receive their name, not from any science or art which is possessed by either of them [as Plato imagined], but because they are of a certain character. (There might indeed be a science of another sort, which would teach the master how to give his orders and the slave how to execute them; this science would include cookery and other menial arts. And there might also be a science or art of slave-hunting, which would be a kind of war.—But enough of this subject.)

In the opening of the Politics there are many indications of the strife of opinion and uncertainty of language which prevailed in the time of Aristotle. In the first page the writer strikes a note of hostility against Plato, which is repeated at intervals throughout the treatise. Yet the views of Aristotle and Plato respecting the kinds or degrees of governments are not essentially different; the opposition between them was exaggerated, if not invented, by their respective followers. From this almost verbal controversy, he passes on to consider the intentions of nature in the creation of society. But the word nature was ambiguous in ancient no less than in modern times, and was variously used to signify 1) the undeveloped or inchoate, 2) the final or perfect nature. The state and the family are both said to exist by nature; but the state in a higher sense than the family. . . . The distinction between men and animals is seen to be the gift of language by which the sphere of human nature is enlarged and rendered capable of good and evil. This distinction is here limited by Aristotle to that part of language which is concerned with our moral ideas. We should rather say that through language man attains to the expression of general and universal conceptions not only in morals, but in all things (cp. Met. 1..6. § 2). The true method of enquiry, according to Aristotle, is the analysis of the whole into its parts; but he does not see that the whole is more than the sum of the parts, and that the parts are changed by their relation to one another. As well might we suppose that we could analyse life into the chemical elements which are the conditions of life, or detect the mind in the

nerves which are its instruments, as imagine that the state was only a compound of families and villages.

Yet there is likewise in Aristotle's Politics a consciousness that the whole is prior to the parts, and that the synthetical method must be combined with the analytical. Though imperfectly expressed, the perfect image of the state in which 'every means is an end, and the end the sum of the means,' is already present to his mind. The two aspects of the truth are placed side by side, but they are not yet harmonised or brought into relation with one another. Aristotle is thought to have been the first who based knowledge on experience, but ever and anon the ideal or poetical image which was always latent in Greek philosophy, though clothed in an unpoetical dress, and reduced to a skeleton, returns upon him. It would have been a surprise to himself, and still more to his school, if he could have recognised how nearly he approached in reality to some of those conceptions on which he was making war. For example, when he speaks of a whole prior to the parts, what does this mean but the idea of the state prior to the existence of it in fact? The conception of the perfect man whose single virtue exceeds that of all other men put together, and who therefore has a natural right to rule, is even more extravagant than the rule of philosophers in the Republic of Plato.

The 'accustomed' method of dividing the whole into its parts is logical rather than historical: that is to say, they are the parts into which it can be dissected, not the elements out of which it has grown. 'It is like the carving of some noble victim, according to the natural formation, where the joint is, not breaking any part, as a bad carver might.' (Phaedrus, 265 E.) But it is not the historical method which resolves institutions and facts into their antecedent elements. Aristotle does not investigate the origins of states, but only divides a genus into species or a larger whole or form into the lesser parts or unities of which it is made up, or shows how an existing state may be preserved or destroyed. We must not expect him to give an analysis of primitive society, such as would be found in a modern writer on anthropology. His observation and experience were almost confined to Hellas. The earliest forms of property and society were unknown to him.

He does not appear to have heard of 'marriage by capture,' and does not distinguish 'endogamy' and 'exogamy.' The *horror naturalis*, which forbids marriage within near degrees of relationship, was to him an established fact. He seems to have supposed that there existed from the first some rude form of the family, like that of the Homeric Cyclops, in which the individual savage gave the law to his own household. But he does not examine how this lowest form of human society passed into the village and the village into the state. Nor does he seriously attempt to gather the ancient customs of Hellas from the usages of the contemporary barbarians, although he occasionally lights upon this path of enquiry, which had been already indicated both by Thucydides and Plato. Nor does it occur to him that the ties of family or caste may be so strong, that the growth of the state is stunted by them; nor, on the other hand, that the life of cities may be so intense as to make any larger political unity impossible.

He tries to distinguish between instruments of production and action, and almost in successive sentences he implies that the slave is and is not both. There is a similar confusion in the opposition which he attempts to make between the artisan and the slave. Nor is the distinction between the slave who can only apprehend reason and the freeman who partakes of reason anything more than a verbal quibble. Both partake of reason in different degrees. He argues, again, that the slave being a possession and belonging to another is necessarily the minister of action. But the notion that a possession is a minister of action rather than of production is a fancy of his own; and he appears to forget at the moment that the artisan, who, if any one, may be termed a minister of production, was often a slave. Here, as in c. 13, he is contrasting the slave and the artisan on the ground that the true slave, not the artisan, derives an inspiration from his master. Such confusions we must admit to have existed in the mind of Aristotle, if we would attain any degree of clearness in the interpretation of his writings.

Respecting slavery, Aristotle arrives at a definite conclusion which, though unsatisfactory to us, satisfies himself. But he has not clearly separated his own view from that of his opponents. His conclusion is that slavery is right when intended by nature;

and the manifest inferiority of certain races is regarded by him as the proof that nature intended them to be slaves. But the captive taken in war, unless he were of inferior race, was only accidentally a slave. The slavery of Barbarian to Greek was natural; the slavery of Greek to Greek was arbitrary and cruel. He implies, though his meaning is obscurely expressed, that the two opposite views, 'justice is benevolence,' 'justice is the rule of a superior,' must be combined.

We are interested to remark that in the age of Aristotle there were some Greeks who would have maintained that slave-hunting was a lawful employment, and that there were also anti-slavery philosophers or sophists in the days before the Stoics, who asserted freedom to be the birthright of all mankind. Either of these extreme views was repudiated by him; his sense of justice revolted from the former, and he probably regarded the latter as too much at variance with the actual condition of the world. How could the 400,000 Athenian slaves ever be emancipated? How could the Greek enjoy cultivated leisure, which was a necessity to him, when deprived of them? How could the barbarians of Illyria and Scythia be transformed into civilized beings? ('If at all,' he would perhaps have replied, 'by subjection to the superior reason of an Hellenic master.') The question which has been asked in modern times, whether society could exist without domestic service?—may illustrate the manner in which a moderate thinker of the school of Aristotle would have regarded the existence of slavery in ancient Hellas. The difficulties which existed in the management of slaves at Lacedaemon were sufficient to show that they were a dangerous element in the state, a 'troublesome sort of cattle,' as Plato calls them. It is however remarkable that neither at Athens nor at Corinth, notwithstanding their enormous numbers and their constant employment in naval and other warfare, do we find any attempt at organised revolt among them, nor does any mention occur of their ill-treatment by the state. It may be further noted that Aristotle, in the Seventh Book, proposes the emancipation of individual slaves as the reward of good conduct—the door of hope was never to be closed—this is a first principle to be always

observed in the management of them. The attempt to open a career to slaves, whether practicable or not, is in advance of most modern countries in which slavery is or has been maintained, and may be compared with the principle upheld, not by the primitive, but by the mediaeval church, which led to the emancipation of the serfs. [See note *in loco* and Essay on Aristotle as a Political Philosopher.]

c. 8. Having discussed the relation of master and slave, we will now proceed to the other question: How is the art of money-making related to household management? Is it the same with it, or a part of it, or subordinate to it? Clearly subordinate, because instrumental; and not the same; for household management uses the material which the art of money-making provides. How then are they to be distinguished? We reply that the acquisition of food is natural to man, and that when limited to natural needs this art of acquisition is a part of household management, which takes many forms; for nature has given many sorts of plants and animals for the use of man; and the differences, both in men and animals, are dependent on their food. Hence arise many employments which may be pursued either to a limited or to an unlimited extent. There are shepherds, husbandmen, fishermen, hunters, and the like. When limited these employments are natural and necessary; for the master of the household must store up the means of life, if they do not exist already. But when unlimited they are bad, and should not be included in household management, which, like the arts, has a natural limit.

c. 9. The other sort of acquisition is the art of making money, or retail trade, which does not exist in the household but grows up with the increase of the community. Now all things have two uses, the one proper, the other improper; in other words, they may be either used or exchanged. Retail trade is the improper use of them for the sake of exchange only, and is not natural because it goes beyond the wants of nature and therefore has no place in the household. It grew out of simple barter, and was innocent enough until coin was invented. After the invention of coin it developed into money-making, and riches have been identified with

a hoard of coin, a notion against which mankind rightly rebel. For money is a conventional thing and may often be useless. A man might be able to turn the dishes which were set before him into gold, like Midas in the fable, and yet perish with hunger.

True wealth is a means and not an end, and is limited by the wants of the household; but the spurious wealth has no limit and is pursued for its own sake. The legitimate art of money-making, which corresponds to the first of these, is a part of household management; the art which creates wealth by exchange is illegitimate. The two have been often confused, because the same instrument, wealth, is common to both; and the desires of men being without limit, they are apt to think that the means to gratify them should also be unlimited.

§ 10. The whole question may be summed up as follows:—There is an art of money-making which uses the means provided by nature for the supply of the household; there is another art which exchanges and trades. The first is honourable and natural; the second is dishonourable and unnatural. The worst form of the latter sort is usury, or the breeding of money from money, which makes a gain not only out of other men, but out of the 'barren metal.'

The last of the difficulties which are discussed by Aristotle in the First Book is the relation of money-making to household management. The sciences or subjects of knowledge which are concerned with man run into one another; and in the age of Aristotle were not easily distinguished. As we say that Political Economy is not the whole of Politics, so Aristotle says that money-making [*χρηματιστική*] is not the whole of household management [*οἰκονομική*] or of family life. But in either case there is a difficulty in separating them. Aristotle perceives that the art of money-making is both narrower and wider than household management; he would like to establish its purely subordinate relation. He does not consider that the property of individuals becomes in time of need the wealth of the state; or that one of his favourite virtues, magnificence, depends on the accumulation

of wealth; or that Athens could not have been the home of the arts 'unless the fruits of the whole earth had flowed in upon her,' and unless gold and silver treasure had been stored up in the Parthenon. And although he constantly insists that leisure is necessary to a cultivated class, he does not observe that a certain amount of accumulated wealth is a condition of leisure.

The art of household management has to decide what is enough for the wants of a family. Happiness is not boundless accumulation, but the life of virtue having a sufficiency of external goods. The art of money-making goes further; for it seeks to make money without limit. According to Aristotle the excess begins at the point where coined money is introduced: with the barter of uncivilised races, with the wild life of the hunter, with the lazy existence of the shepherd, or the state of mankind generally before cities came into existence, he has no fault to find. He does not perceive that money is only a convenient means of exchange which may be used in small quantities, or in large; which may be employed in trade, or put out at interest; and that the greater the saving of time in production, the greater will also be the opportunities of leisure and cultivation. The real difference between the true and the false art of money-making is one of degree; and the evil is not the thing itself, but the manner of obtaining it,—when men heap up money at the cost of every other good;—and also the use of it,—when it is wasted in luxury and ostentation, and adds nothing to the higher purposes of life. Something of the prejudice against retail trade seems to enter into the whole discussion. Another prejudice is observable in the fanciful argument against usury, to which Aristotle objects, not on the ground that the usurer may become a tyrant, but because the money which is produced out of usury is a sort of unnatural birth.... Once more, he falls unconsciously into the error of preferring an uncivilised to a civilised state of society. The beauty of primitive life—that fair abstraction of religion and philosophy—was beginning to exercise a fascination over the Greeks in the days of Aristotle and Plato, as it afterwards did over the mind of modern Europe when it was again made attractive by the genius of Sir Thomas More and of Rousseau.

But now leaving the theory, let us consider the practice of c. 11.
money-making, which has many branches; the knowledge of
live-stock, tillage, planting, the keeping of bees, fish, poultry—all
these are legitimate. The illegitimate are 1) commerce, of which
there are three subdivisions, commerce by land, commerce by sea,
and selling in shops; 2) usury; 3) service for hire, skilled and
unskilled. There are also arts in which products of the earth, such
as wood and minerals, are exchanged for money; these are an
intermediate kind. The lowest are the arts in which there is least
precision, the greatest use of the body, and the least need of
excellence.

But not to go further into details, he who is interested in such
subjects may consult economical writers, or collect the stories
about the ways in which Thales and others made fortunes. He
will find that these stories usually turn upon the same point,
the creation of a monopoly; which is also a favourite device 1.
of statesmen when they want to increase the revenue.

Enough has been said of master and slave. There remain c. 12.
the two other relations which exist in a family, that of husband
and wife, and of parent and child. The master rules over the
slave despotically, the husband over the wife constitutionally, but
in neither case do they take turns of ruling and being ruled after
the manner of constitutional states, because the difference between
them is permanent. On the other hand, the rule of the father or
elder over the child is like that of the king over his subjects.

The master of a house has to do with persons rather than c. 13.
with things, with human excellence and not with wealth, and
with the virtue of freemen rather than with the virtue of slaves.
For in the slave as well as in the freeman there resides a virtue
which enables him to perform his duty. Whether he has any
higher excellence is doubtful:—If he has, in what will he differ
from a freeman? Yet he is a man and therefore a rational being.
And a noble disposition is required in the natural subject as well
as in the natural ruler. But, on the other hand, we say that the
difference between them is one of kind and not of degree. What
is the conclusion? That the virtue of the slave is the same with
that of his master, or different? Not the same, nor yet altogether

different, but relative to the nature of each, like the virtues of the soul and of the body, like the rule of the male over the female, who both partake of the same virtues but in different degrees. [Plato] was wrong in trying to comprehend all the virtues under a single definition; [Gorgias] was right in distinguishing them.

The artisan should not be confounded with the slave. He does not exist by nature, and is not linked to a master; whereas the slave is a part of his master, and receives from him the impress of his character.

The relations of husband and wife, of parent and child, will be more fully considered when we speak of the constitutions of states. For the family is a part of the state, and the virtue of the part must be relative to the virtue of the whole.

The two last chapters of the First Book seem to be a summary of the subjects which have preceded. Yet the writer, as if not wholly satisfied with his previous analysis of the relations of slave and master, and desirous of having one more 'fling' at Plato, returns to the discussion, which he illustrates by a new and not very accurate distinction between the slave and the artisan. The artisan is inferior to the slave, because he is not subjected to the civilising or inspiring influence of a master, nor does he stand in any natural relation to the person from whom he learns his art. The distinction, which is untenable (for many artisans were slaves), seems to be an afterthought and comes in out of place. Aristotle has already in view the education of the citizens, and he intends that it shall be relative to the state of which they are members. He concludes with an unfulfilled promise, one of the many which occur in the course of the work. The promise is, that he will discuss the virtues of husband and wife, parent and child, when he treats of the different forms of government. Whether he meant to compare particular relations of family life with particular forms of government, e.g. the relation of husband and wife to a constitutional government, and that of father and son to a monarchy; or only to say generally that the organisation of the family must correspond to that of the state, is left unexplained. His views of the state and the family are mutually

influenced by each other; and he sees fanciful as well as real analogies subsisting between them. Yet at the beginning of his work he has expressly distinguished between them, and it is hard to say how a particular form of government can be supposed to depend upon the family.

There are many glimpses of higher truths presented to us in the First Book of the Politics: such, for example, as the remarks 1) that the state is prior to the individual; 2) that the lower is intended by nature to lead up to the higher, i. e. that the state is implicitly contained in the family and the village; 3) that in all men there is a social instinct which is matured by the wisdom of legislators, who are the great benefactors of mankind; 4) that there is a principle of government or law even in inanimate things; 5) that wealth is not the true end of human life; 6) that the virtue of the individual must exist in the state. These are noble thoughts, which, though entangled in some paradoxes and errors incidental to the age of Aristotle, may be regarded as the true lights of political philosophy in all ages. The individual, the family, the state, are all parts of a larger whole on which is impressed a final cause, dimly seen to be the harmony of the world.

THE first half of the second book of the Politics is devoted to the controversy with Plato, who is criticised by Aristotle from an adverse point of view. His criticisms are not those of an admiring pupil who seeks to enter into the spirit of his master, but of a teacher who has revolted against his authority. The clouds and dreams of the Republic have many heavy blows dealt against them by the weapons of common sense, but like 'the air invulnerable' they come together again and are unharmed by the spear of criticism. For they can never be brought down to earth, and while remaining in their own element they are beyond the reach of attack.

In the criticisms of Aristotle on the Republic there is one leading thought:—the state, like the human frame, has many parts or members, but Plato reduces it to an unmeaning and colourless

unity. He makes it into a large family in which there are unreal relationships and no bond, either political or social, holding them together. The unmeaningness of the conception becomes evident as soon as we attempt to realise it. If the ideal state were divided into tribes and phratries, hardly anything would remain of it. In Plato the correlation of the parts and the whole is lost sight of; and society, instead of being held together by a multitude of 'little invisible pegs' or threads, becomes thin and transparent.

The argument of chap. 4 is difficult to follow, because Aristotle, without making any regular transition, attacks Plato from different points of view in successive sentences. First of all he complains that the unity of the Platonic state is too great, and even suicidal. Then, again, he urges that this unity or friendship is really imaginary. For it has no organisation, and, like a drop of honey in water, is dissipated or lost in the mass through which it is diffused.

The arguments which Aristotle employs against communism are for the most part the same which may be found in modern writers. Though not a communist, he is of opinion that existing laws or usages are capable of improvement. Men cannot have all things in common, but they may have many more than at present. The instinct of ownership is a kind of self-love implanted by nature, not blameable, but it should be tempered by liberality and benevolence. The Spartan freedom of taking and using a neighbour's goods is commended by Aristotle, and he thinks that such a custom might be carried further. The legislator should seek to inspire the 'love which is the fulfilling of the law'; he should not by enactments take away the grace and freedom of virtuous actions. The sentiment might be thrown into a modern form:—More good will be done by awakening in rich men a sense of the duties of property, than by the violation of its rights.

Aristotle is dissatisfied with the vagueness of Plato. He wants to know more about the inferior classes: what is to be their education, and in what relation do they stand to the guardians? Are they to have wives and children in common? As if in a work of imagination which was intended to shadow forth great principles every particular must be consistent, or every detail filled up.

Neither has Aristotle himself given any sufficient answer to the question, 'What should be the position of the subject-class in a Greek state?' Nor is it strictly accurate to say that the rulers in the Republic are always the same. For the 'high-spirited warriors' when they are qualified by age all take their turn of ruling: see Essay on Aristotle as a Critic of Plato in vol. ii.

BOOK II.

A criticism on the Republic and on the Laws of Plato; the constitutions of Phaleas and Hippodamus; the states of Lacedaemon, Crete, and Carthage,—their similarities and differences; scattered remarks on Solon and other legislators.

Before entering on the search after a perfect state, we must pass c. 1.
in review those constitutions, whether ideal or actual, which are the most in repute. In seeking for something beyond them, we are animated by the love of truth, not by the desire of display.

Let us examine the nature of the social union. The members of a state must either have all things in common or nothing in common, or some things in common and some not. They *must* have some things in common, for they live in the same place. But should they have all things in common, as in the Republic of Plato, or some things only and others not? Which is better—the communism of the Republic, or the prevailing custom?

Plato believed that the community of women would promote the c. 2.
unity of the state. But 1) unity may be carried to such an extent that the state is no longer a state, and, in tending to greater unity, becomes first a family, and then an individual; such an unity as this would be the ruin of the state, and therefore the reverse of beneficial to it. 2) Moreover, a state must be large enough to be self-sufficing, and a family is more self-sufficing than an individual, and a state than a family. 3) A state is not a mere aggregate of individuals, like a military alliance of which the usefulness may depend on quantity only; nor yet a nation, which is a host of men 'numero tantum differentes,' like the Arcadians; the elements of a state differ in kind. Where the citizens are all free and

equal, they rule and are ruled in turns; and this principle of compensation is the salvation of states. It might be better from one point of view that there should be a permanent division of labour and that the same persons should always rule. But where there is a natural equality and not enough offices for all the citizens, the continuance of one set of persons in office is found to be impossible; and so they hold office by turns, and upon
c. 3. the same principle pass from one office to another. 4) Even assuming the greatest unity to be desirable, it would not be attained, as Plato supposes, when all men say 'mine' and 'not mine' of the same thing or person at the same moment. For the word 'all' has two senses, a collective and a distributive; taken collectively it is unmeaning—all the world cannot have one wife or house; taken distributively it implies that every man's wife or house will be the wife or house of every other man; but this arrangement will not conduce to the harmony of a family. The state is an unity in plurality; and the unity without the plurality, or the plurality without the unity, is absurd. Again, 5) that which is common to many is apt to be neglected. The children will belong to everybody and to nobody. They will have an infinitesimal share of parental affection:—moreover, when they were born many of their supposed fathers may have had no sons or daughters, or they may not have lived to grow up. Better to have a cousin in the ordinary sense of the word than a thousand sons in the Republic of Plato. 6) The children will often resemble their fathers or mothers, and inferences will be drawn about their parentage.

c. 4. There will be other evils:—7) Unholy acts done against fathers and mothers are more likely to be committed if the relationship is unknown. And who will make atonement for them? 8) It was inconsistent of Plato to forbid intercourse between lovers because of the intensity of the pleasure, and yet allow familiarities between relations which are far more discreditable; for all the citizens will be relations. 9) The true effect of communism is disorganisation. It might therefore be allowed among the subject-class whom the legislator wants to keep down, but not among the rulers. 10) Such legislation is suicidal; while pretending to make men friends all

round and to preserve them from revolutions, it really weakens the ties which bind them to one another; instead of unity so complete as to be self-destroying, there will be a watery friendship among them. 11) The transference from one class to another will be impossible; for how can secrecy be maintained? 12) And the citizens who are transferred will be restrained by no ties of relationship from committing crimes against their nearest relations.

c. 5. Whether the citizens of the perfect state should have their property in common or not is another question. Three modes of tenure are possible:—1) private ownership of the soil and common use; 2) common ownership and private use; 3) ownership and use alike common. If the cultivators are the owners, they will 3. quarrel about the division of the produce ['*chacun produit selon sa capacité et consomme selon ses besoins*'], but if they are not their own masters the difficulty will be diminished. There is always an awkwardness in persons living together and having things in common. Fellow-travellers are often said to fall out by the way, and we are apt to take offence at our servants because they are always with us. (The present system, if humanised and liberalised, would be far better.) There might be private possession and common use among friends, such as exists already to a certain extent among the Lacedaemonians, who borrow one another's slaves and horses and dogs, and take in the fields the provisions which they want. To Plato we reply:—(1) When men have distinct interests, 4. they will not be so likely to quarrel; and 2) they will make more progress, because every one will be attending to his own business. (3) There is a natural pride of ownership; and also 4) a pleasure in doing a kindness to others;—these will be destroyed by communism. 5) The virtues of continence and liberality will no longer exist. (6) When Plato attributes all the ills which states endure to private property, he overlooks the real cause of them, which is the wickedness of human nature. 7) He has a false conception of unity. The state should be united by philosophy, by a common education and common meals, not by community of property. 8) The experience of ages is against him: his theory, if true, would have been discovered long ago. (9) If his scheme were ever realised, he would be compelled to break up the state into tribes and

phratries and other associations. And then, what would be left of the original idea? Nothing but the prohibition of agriculture to the guardians. 10) The plan is not worked out—even the general form of the community is indistinct. He says nothing about the lower classes who are the majority of the citizens. The husbandmen, if they have all things in common, do not differ from the guardians; but if they have wives and property of their own, they will form a state within a state, and the old evils arising out of property will reappear. Education is his panacea which is to take the place of law; but he has confined education to the guardians. 11) Or if the husbandmen own the land on payment of a tribute, is this desirable? will they not be even more unmanageable than the Helots? 12) If the wives of the citizens are common and the land private, who will see to the house? 13) And what will happen if the husbandmen have both lands and wives in common? 14) Once more, it is absurd to argue for the community of women from the analogy of the animals; for animals have not to manage a household. 15) There is a danger in the fixedness of the rulers, who are said to be made of the same gold always. For high-spirited warriors will want to have a turn of ruling as well as of being ruled. 16) The guardians are deprived of happiness, and yet the whole state is supposed to be happy: but how can the whole be happy unless the parts are happy?

c. 6. Many of these objections apply to Plato's later work, the 'Laws,' in which he intended to delineate a constitution more of the ordinary type; but he gradually reverts to his ideal state. The only differences are, that the women share in the common meals, that the number of the warriors is increased from 1000 to 5000; and that the community of women and property is abandoned. But 1) he has exceeded the bounds of possibility in making so large a state. 2) He has neglected foreign relations; yet a city must be provided against her enemies. 3) He has not defined the amount of property which his citizens may possess. He says a man should have 'enough to live temperately'—meaning 'to live well.' Yet a man may live temperately but miserably. He should have said 'enough to live temperately and liberally.' 4) If he equalises property, he should limit population; he fancies that the

fruitfulness of some marriages would be balanced by the barrenness of others, and so the number of citizens would remain about the same as in existing states. But if the lots are absolutely divided they could not be redistributed. There would then be supernumeraries, who would stir up revolution. 5) He does not say how the rulers are distinguished from the subjects. 6) If other property may be increased five-fold, why not land? 7) His two homesteads, one in the city and one on the border, will be very inconvenient. 8) The citizens are to be heavy-armed soldiers who will form a polity. This constitution, though it may be suited to the greatest number of states, is not the nearest to his ideal. There are persons who think that all the elements of the state ought to share in the government, and these would prefer the more complex constitution of Sparta, which is made up of king, elders, and ephors. According to Plato the best state is a combination of democracy and tyranny; but both of these are bad and can hardly be called constitutions at all; and the constitution which is actually proposed is nothing but an union of democracy and oligarchy, inclining rather to the latter, as may be seen from the mode of choosing the magistrates and the council, and the enforcement on the rich of attendance at the assembly. 9) He contrives the council in such a manner as always to give the predominance to the higher or richer classes. 10) The double election will tend to throw the power of choosing into the hands of a clique or cabal.

Most of the arguments which Aristotle employs against communism are the same which are employed among ourselves: he expresses in them the common sense of mankind. But some are peculiar to him, or characteristic of his age and country. For example, 1) the notion that the lower classes will be more easily retained in subjection if they have wives and children in common; which may be compared with the desire to suppress education and family life among slaves in some slaveholding countries of modern times; 2) the impossibility of expiating crimes committed against relations when relationships are unknown; 3) the supposed necessity of breaking up the state into tribes and phratries, which is maintained from the point of view, not of Plato, but of an Athenian

citizen; 4) the remark that there is much more quarrelling among those who have all things in common than among the owners of private property; which probably refers to partnerships in business. Several of Aristotle's arguments are unsatisfactory to us. First the attempt to show that the population in ordinary states is kept equal by the compensation of sterile and fertile unions, but that this compensation will not occur under the constitution of the Laws; whereas enactments are expressly made to preserve the equality of families; secondly, the assertion that, according to Plato, the best state is composed of democracy and tyranny: a statement which is nowhere to be found either in the Republic or Laws, though something like it occurs in Laws, vi. 756 E. Again, it is not true to say that Plato has not considered the question of population; for he has treated of it in Laws, v. 740, and provides against the difficulty by 'preventive checks,' by laws of marriage and adoption, and by colonisation.

The relation of the 'Laws' to the Republic is not such as it is represented by Aristotle. The words, that 'Plato, having intended to adapt the "Laws" to an ordinary state, gradually returns to the ideal form,' are not justified by anything found in the book of the Laws which has come down to us, and there is no trace of any other form of the work. He always intended that the constitution of the Laws should be that of a second-rate state, and the distinction, though only once explicitly noted (Laws, v. 739, 740), is present to his mind throughout. The point of which Aristotle makes light, when he says that the only difference between the Republic and the Laws is the community of wives and property, is really essential. He has omitted to mention the other difference, which, in Plato's estimation, was even greater, the government of philosophers. There is little or nothing ideal or peculiar in what remains; for nearly all the other institutions contained in the Laws have their parallel in Sparta or some other Greek state. It can hardly be said that the Lacedaemonian constitution comes nearer than that of the Laws to the ideal state; nor is this remark of Aristotle consistent with his previous remark that the constitution of the Laws gradually reverts to the ideal state.

For this whole subject see the Essay in vol. ii. on the Criti-

cisms of Aristotle upon Plato. Oncken (Staatslehre des Aristoteles, vol. i. p. 194 foll.) is of opinion that the Laws of Plato which were known to Aristotle were not the same with the extant work. He argues from the silence of Aristotle on many points, and from his misrepresentation of others. But Aristotle's treatment of Plato in the Laws is not different from his treatment of him in the Ethics and Metaphysics. The hypothesis of Oncken is highly improbable. There is no example of corruption or interpolation on such a scale in a work of such excellence anywhere in the compass of ancient literature. An hypothesis against which so fatal an objection may be urged, would have to be supported by the strongest proofs, and not merely by a weak inference from the statement that Philippus of Opus copied the Laws from the original tablets. (See Introduction to the Laws; Translation of the Dialogues of Plato, vol. v.)

Yet the Plato or the theses of Plato which Aristotle or the diorthotes of the Politics had in his mind in an age when manuscripts were scarce and were not yet divided into books and chapters, may have been very different from the Plato which is known to us. Such a view is confirmed by an examination of Aristotle's references not only to the Laws, but to Plato's other writings, and by the general character of the citations in early Greek literature. The anti-Platonic theses of the Peripatetic school may often have had little foundation in the actual writings of Plato. The arts of interpretation and controversy were in their infancy. This is a more reasonable explanation of the want of correspondence between Plato and Aristotle than to suppose the wholesale corruption or interpolation of an ancient writer.

No constitution is so novel and singular as that of Plato; no c. 7.
one else has introduced the community of women and children, or the public tables for women. Other legislators have made the regulation of property their chief aim, deeming that to be the point on which all revolutions turn. Phaleas of Chalcedon saw this danger and was the first to affirm that the citizens of a state ought to have equal possessions. In a new colony he would have started with an equal distribution of property; in an old-

established one he would gradually have attained the same end by an arrangement of marriage portions:—the rich were to give and not receive them, and the poor to receive and not to give them. 1) But if a limit of property is to be fixed, there should also be a limit of population; otherwise the law will be broken, and those who have nothing will stir up revolution. 2) And even where a limit of property is fixed, the amount should not be so great as to encourage luxury, or so small as to allow of poverty. 3) The desires of mankind must be limited as well as their possessions. 4) The equality of honour among unequals and the inequality of honour among equals are as dangerous as the equality or inequality of property. There are three motives to crime, a) want, b) ambition, c) the love of pleasure without pain. But want is far from being the strongest of these incentives, and therefore equalisation of property would only banish the lesser sort of crimes. The true remedy for want is to have a competency and something to do; for ambition, self-control; for the love of pleasure, philosophy. Phaleas probably intended to give equal education as well as property to all his citizens, and thereby to equalise their desires; but he has not told us what will be the character of his education. 5) He has regarded only domestic, and not foreign relations, into which the consideration of property likewise enters; for a state should have enough wealth to resist, but not enough to attract invaders [§§ 18–21 are partly a repetition of what has preceded, § 9 foll.]. 6) The greater evils which flow from ambition are not diminished by an equalisation of property, but by training the nobler dispositions of men to contentment, and by putting down discontent among the lower sort. 7) Phaleas should have equalised, not merely land, but moveables. 8) He wants to make all the artisans slaves, which would only be possible in a small city.

This and the following chapters show us how fertile was the genius of Hellas in devising forms of government. Already there were many treatises in existence, probably a large literature, relating to the subject of Politics. Yet we are also struck with the meagreness of Aristotle's information and the feebleness of

some of his judgments. Of Sparta he knows very little, of Crete even less, and his ideas respecting Carthage are fragmentary and also contradictory. Not having before us the writings of Phaleas or Hippodamus, we cannot say how far he misunderstood or misrepresented them: he may not have done them greater justice than he appears to have done to Plato. The reflections of Aristotle on Phaleas and Hippodamus, like so many of his criticisms, are made in the dialectical manner of the age; but we have reached a further point of view, and can judge in a more comprehensive spirit. It was impossible for him to do justice to his predecessors; he can only try them by formulas of his own and by the more advanced standard of his own time. But we know that the first steps in political philosophy, feeble and inconsistent as they may have been, are really the greatest; and the highest achievement of modern criticism is the power of appreciating such new and original thoughts in all their greatness.

It is no real objection to Phaleas that in treating of the equalisation of property he has said nothing of equality of population; he might have replied that the support of surplus numbers is not more difficult where there is equality than where there is inequality of property. Nor can he be blamed for neglecting to speak of foreign relations, except on the ground which is hardly tenable that every political treatise should be complete in every part. The subject was impressed on the mind of Aristotle by the history of Hellas; but it might not equally have occurred to an earlier writer on politics.

In ancient times men did not easily analyse the forms of government under which they lived. In reflections of this kind Polybius, who lived a century and a half later, though not a genius of the highest order, has made an advance upon Aristotle. His sketch of the Roman Republic is fuller and clearer than any of the constitutions described in the Politics. Yet even he, truthful as he was in the main, cannot be acquitted of partiality. His predecessor Timaeus is a *bête noire* to him, whom he is always attacking, but, as we should be inclined to infer from his virulence, not always with justice.

c. 8. The first person, not a statesman, who framed a constitution was Hippodamus, the architect of the Peiraeus, a man affected in his dress and eccentric in his way of life, who was a political philosopher as well as an enquirer into nature. 1) His state consisted of 10,000 citizens who were distributed in three classes, husbandmen, artisans, warriors. 2) He divided the land into three parts, a sacred, a public, and a private part, the first for the maintenance of religion, the second for the support of the warriors, the third to be owned by the husbandmen. 3) He classified laws under three heads, insult, injury, homicide. 4) He instituted a court of appeal formed of elders chosen for the purpose. 5) He was of opinion that in the courts of justice the judges should use, not a pebble but a tablet, and in doubtful cases, instead of a simple acquittal or condemnation, they should write down on the tablet the degree of guilt which they attributed to the defendant. Unless they were allowed to draw distinctions, they must often commit perjury. 6) He enacted that rewards should be conferred on public benefactors. 7) He provided that the children of citizens slain in battle should be maintained by the state, as is customary at Athens; and 8) he had all the magistrates chosen by the people.

These proposals are open to many objections. 1) The artisans, the husbandmen, and the warriors are supposed to have an equal share in the government. But the first two will be the slaves of the last, for they have no arms; and for the same reason they are not fit to be magistrates: on the other hand, if excluded from the government, how can they be loyal citizens? And if the warriors are the stronger, why should the two other classes have any share in the government at all? The artisans have a natural place in the state, and the husbandmen, if they provided the warriors with food, might have a claim. The anomaly is that they have land of their own. Now if they cultivate the land of the warriors as well as their own, they will have too much to do: and the warriors, if they are engaged in cultivating their own lands, will become husbandmen; or if there are yet other cultivators, these will be a fourth class in the state for which no place is allowed. 2) The qualified verdict would turn the judges into arbitrators; it would cause confusion, and is unnecessary. If the charge is

properly drawn, the dicast can always say 'yes' or 'no' without committing perjury. 3) The proposal to reward discoveries or improvements in the laws would encourage informers. But should laws be improved?—that is a controverted question. The example of the arts and the general experience of mankind is in favour of improvement. Men in general desire good and not merely what their fathers had. On the other hand, the authority of laws is derived from custom, and the habit of lightly altering them impairs their force. There must sometimes be changes, but great caution should be observed; else the evil of change may outweigh the gain of reform. The analogy of the arts is misleading.

Aristotle regards Phaleas and Hippodamus as he regards Plato, from the point of view of an adversary: he is their critic, after the manner of his age, and tells us, not what he approves, but what he disapproves in their writings. Yet it is evident that some of their political ideas had great merit. Phaleas attempted to deal with the evils of property, which he thought could most easily be remedied in an old country by a clever arrangement of dowries: we should say, probably, by restricting the power of settlement or bequest. A difficulty which pressed upon ancient legislators more than ourselves owing to the stationary character of the arts of production was the increase of population; of this difficulty Aristotle is very sensible. When men begin to feel the struggle for existence they are apt to be discontented with the government under which they live. Yet mere equality of property, even if it could be maintained, would not always content them. For all men cannot be reduced to the same dead level, even if there were enough for all. The ambitious will still commit crimes on a great scale; the possession of a competence takes away only the temptation to petty larceny. Nor can it be denied that great inequalities of property by giving a stimulus to increased production may give a larger share of the goods of life to the poor than could be obtained by any system of distribution however just.

It is an interesting question which Aristotle raises in his criticism of Phaleas. What amount of wealth may with advantage be possessed by a state? To which we may reply, That the value of

wealth in a state depends not on the amount, but on the use and distribution of it. Men may talk about the meannesses and miseries which are caused by a highly artificial state of society. They may seek to throw off the restraints of law. But

> 'How small of all that human hearts endure,
> That part which laws or kings can cause or cure.'

This is the spirit which Aristotle here expresses, though an opposite thesis might be maintained with equal truth. For the miseries which arise from bad, and the blessings of good government, in which the blessings of peace are generally included, can hardly be exaggerated. He also expresses the feeling which is familiar to us in modern times, that want of morality which is in fact weakness, lies at the root of the corruption in a state. Men are always crying out, Give, give, and are for dividing and subdividing the property of the rich. But while Aristotle acknowledges the inequalities of society to be natural and necessary, he insists on justice being done to the lower classes. Foreign relations are ever present to his mind. They could hardly be otherwise, since in the fourth and fifth centuries before Christ nearly every state in Hellas had become the friend and enemy of every other several times over.

The number 3 exercises a great influence on the constitution of Hippodamus. He built the streets of cities at right angles, and also gave an arithmetical or mathematical form to the fabric of his ideal state. Number and figure naturally became in his age guiding principles of the human mind. Yet he was also an original thinker, and already before the time of Plato had treated of a best or perfect state. His classification of offences, his institution of a court of appeal and a qualified verdict (for he was apparently the first author of them), are great legal inventions. The court of appeal was probably intended to amend the decisions of the popular assembly or of the ordinary law courts by the judgment of a court of elders. Whether Aristotle approved of the proposal or not, he does not say. The argument of Hippodamus against the unqualified verdict is really untenable. The difficulty is inherent in the nature of the case, and cannot be removed by the several jurors or judges giving their verdicts in different forms. Other objections

of Aristotle's appear to us rather trivial; for example, the argument that the husbandmen cannot be a fourth class, seemingly because a fourth class is contrary to the genius of the state, or, his notion that the artisans have a place in the state, but not the husbandmen unless they are entirely devoted to the service of the military class. We are also surprised at his digressing from the Laws of Hippodamus to the general question whether laws should or should not be changed.

The commonplaces of conservative and reformer are arrayed against one another for the first time in the Politics. Aristotle anticipates by his great power of reflection the lessons which the experience of ages has taught the modern world.

All governments may be criticised from two points of view: c. 9. their relation 1) to the perfect state, 2) to the intention of the lawgiver. Under these two aspects we will now examine, first the Lacedaemonian, secondly the Cretan state. [N. B. This symmetrical plan is immediately forgotten.]

1) In a well-ordered state the citizens must have leisure, and therefore others must provide for their daily wants. But slaves are apt to rebel: the Spartan Helots and the Thessalian Penestae have constantly risen against their masters, though the Cretans have succeeded better in the management of their slaves, because they are islanders, and because when at war with one another, all having slaves, they do not encourage them to revolt.

2) The influence of the Spartan women is fatal to good order. They are half the city, and the other half has fallen under their dominion; in the language of mythology, Ares has been overcome by Aphrodite. They are disorderly and cowardly; in the Theban invasion they were utterly useless and caused more confusion than the enemy. Their way of life tends also to foster avarice in their husbands. The evil is of old standing. Lycurgus long ago wanted to control them, but they were too much for him. He found them more impracticable than the men, who had been schooled into obedience by their long wars against their neighbours, and he gave up the attempt. To their resistance this defect in the constitution is to be attributed.

3) Another evil is the inequality of property. This inequality is caused by the unlimited right of bequest, and is aggravated by the practice of giving large dowries; two-fifths of the land has passed into the hands of women. And so the population has diminished. The country was once capable of maintaining 1500 knights and 30,000 heavy-armed troops, and although at one time the Spartans themselves were as many as 10,000, the total number has now fallen below 1000.

4) The legislator ought to have kept the number of lots equal to the number of the people; but instead of equalising them, he encouraged large families, so that they have become more unequal and disproportionate. [Yet he did not succeed in increasing the number of his citizens.]

5) The high office of the Ephoralty has many defects. a) The Ephors are chosen out of all, and the office is often held by very poor men, who, being ill off, are open to bribes; b) their powers are so extravagant that the balance of the constitution has been disturbed by them; c) they are elected in a manner which is perfectly ridiculous; d) they are quite ordinary men, and are therefore unfit to decide great causes on their own judgment; they should be controlled by written laws; e) the laxity of their life contrasts with the severity of the ordinary Spartan régime. On the other hand, the office is popular; the common people are pleased because they share in it.

6) The Council of Elders, again, is ill-constituted:—a) they are judges for life and irresponsible; or at least only controlled by the Ephors, who are not fit for their high office: b) they are very corrupt; the legislator himself shows that he cannot trust them, for he places them under the control of the Ephoralty: c) the manner of their election is as ridiculous as that of the Ephors: d) the practice of canvassing, which the law encourages, should be forbidden.

7) The Kings should not be hereditary, but should be elected for merit.

8) The common meals, which are intended to be a popular institution, should be provided at the public cost, as in Crete; but they are not, and consequently the poor are excluded from them, and lose the rights of citizenship.

9) The office of Admiral sets up a rival to the Kings.

10) The state, as Plato truly says, is framed with a view to a part of virtue only, the virtue of the soldier, which gives victory in war, but in time of peace is useless or injurious.

11) The Spartans conceive that the goods of life are to be obtained by virtue, but are mistaken in preferring them to virtue. They have a right idea of the means, but a wrong idea of the end.

12) Lastly, their revenues are ill-managed. The citizens are impatient of taxation, and the greater part of the land being in their own hands, they allow one another to cheat. Instead of the citizens being poor and the state rich, the citizens are too fond of money, and the state is impoverished.

The constitutions of Sparta, Crete, and Carthage are said by Aristotle to be excellent, but against each of the three he brings rather a heavy indictment. Of all three the accounts are warped by the desire to compare them, and are not always consistent with themselves. The Lacedaemonian government did not aim at the best end, and did not succeed in attaining the end at which it aimed. The Spartans had not found out the secret of managing their slaves; the men were hardy and temperate; but they fell under the influence of their women, who were licentious and disorderly. Equality had been the aim of the legislator, but inequality had been the result. Their administration of justice, their common meals, their finances were ill-managed. Their great magistrates received bribes from foreign states; the Ephors were very ordinary men invested with tyrannical powers; the elders were corrupt and often superannuated. The spirit of suspicion and distrust reigned in their government; they regarded virtue as a means only and not as the great end of life. The inefficiency of the Spartan government, in almost every particular, is severely commented upon by Aristotle.

To what form of government the Spartan constitution is to be referred is a question which greatly exercises ancient writers; Aristotle inclines to think that it is three in one, a combination of royalty, aristocracy, and democracy.

(For a fuller consideration of the criticism of Sparta in the Politics, see vol. ii, Essay on the Spartans and their Institutions.)

c. 10. The Cretan constitution resembles the Spartan, and in some respects is quite as good, but ~~being older~~, it is less perfect in form. Lycurgus is said to have taken it as his model. The Cretan town of Lyctus is a Lacedaemonian colony, and he appears to have been attracted to Crete by the connection between the two countries. The situation of the island between Asia Minor and Hellas was favourable to the growth of a maritime power; and hence Minos acquired the dominion of the sea.

There are many similarities in the Cretan and Lacedaemonian constitutions. The Cretan Perioeci correspond to the Helots, and like the Spartans, the Cretans have common meals; the ten Cosmi answer to the five Ephors. There is a council of Elders which corresponds to the Lacedaemonian; and the Cretans formerly had kings. There is also an assembly, but it can only ratify the decrees of the Cosmi and of the Elders [as at Lacedaemon].

1) The Cretan common meals are supported out of the public revenues, so that no citizen is excluded from them; in this respect they are an improvement upon the Lacedaemonian. There is a common stock, in which the women and children share. The legislator has many ingenious ways of preventing his citizens from eating and drinking too much; and in order to check the increase of population, he separates men from women, lest there should be too many mouths to feed. 2) The Cosmi are like the Ephors, but they are even a worse form of magistracy; for they are elected out of certain families and not out of the whole people. The institution is not unpopular: but it has great evils, and the remedy for them is as bad. For the mischief can only be cured by a revolution among the nobles, or the violent expulsion of the Cosmi from office. And so the Cretan government, while possessing some constitutional elements, really becomes a close oligarchy. 3) The Council is formed of ex-Cosmi. The members of it, like the Spartan Council of Elders, are appointed for life, and judge by unwritten laws.

Crete has the good fortune to be an island, or the incessant factions would long ago have destroyed the state.

Aristotle compares the Cretan to the Spartan constitution—in some respects to the advantage of the former. Among the desirable aims which the Cretan legislator proposed to himself, he notices moderation in eating, the good arrangement of the Syssitia, the suppression of population. But the whole machinery of government was very rude and imperfect; although their insular situation preserved the Cretans from servile wars, they could correct political evils only by a periodical revolution. This anarchy of Crete contrasted with the stability of Lacedaemon.

The Syssitia, called Andria by the Cretans, were provided out of a public fund. They were not therefore exclusive, like the common meals of the Spartans. They would rather help to relieve the poverty of some of the citizens. The good principle which Aristotle praises among the Spartans of having some things in common was carried further by the Cretans. They all had a dinner at the expense of the state. Women and children also shared in the public stock, although it is not said by Aristotle that they partook of the common meals. And Aristotle himself observes that the presence of women at the common meals was a novelty first proposed by Plato. He also intimates that the intention of the legislator was to separate the sexes and not to bring them together. The similarity which Aristotle supposes to exist in the three states, Sparta, Crete, Carthage, is slenderly, if at all, confirmed by facts. It is an old remark that mankind observe similarities sooner than differences, and some general similarities may be expected to be found in all governments which are similarly circumstanced. The ancients, having a very limited knowledge of the world, were apt to regard these general similarities as proofs of a common origin. (Thus Herodotus, wherever he goes among his friends the priests, is apt to discover resemblances between the Greek and Egyptian religions.) In his criticism on the institutions of Crete Aristotle is expecting to find a similarity with Lacedaemon, derived from a common origin; but in the course of his enquiry

he discovers more differences than points of resemblance. The one real similarity is the Syssitia, which may naturally have arisen out of the military necessities of a conquering race, and would easily lead to the invention of the various legends by which Crete is connected with Lacedaemon. The Cretan institutions had no revival, and the tradition of them had not the same hold on the mind of Hellas as the tradition of Lycurgus. The Cretans never attained to the power and importance in Hellas for which the situation of the great island seemed to intend them. There was not in their nature the capacity of adapting themselves to the changing circumstances of the Greek world. They did not exclude foreigners, but they were seldom visited by them. They remained in the background of the history of Hellas, and did not ever become a considerable maritime power. They were renowned as archers, but not as heavy-armed troops. Their naval fame was legendary, going back to the times of Minos, the sea king, who put down the pirates. In later legend he is also called the lawgiver, who received laws from Zeus as Lycurgus did from Apollo. No historical king of Crete is mentioned in antiquity: the office was not retained as at Sparta, but shared the downfall of the other kingships of Hellas in the age when the oligarchies grew powerful.

c. 11. The Carthaginian constitution resembles the Spartan and Cretan: all three are like one another, but unlike any others. The Carthaginian, though containing an element of democracy, has lasted well, and has never degenerated into a tyranny. At Carthage there are clubs which have common tables: these answer to the Spartan pheiditia. There is also a magistracy of 104, which answers to the Ephoralty, but unlike the Ephors, the Carthaginian magistrates are elected for merit. Like the Spartans they have Kings and a Council of Elders, but, unlike the Spartan, their Kings are elected for merit, and are not always of the same family.

The deviations of Carthage from the perfect state are the same as in most other states. The deviations from aristocracy and polity incline both to democracy and to oligarchy. For instance,

the people discuss and determine any matter which has been brought before them by the Kings and Elders (this is not the case at Sparta and Crete); and when the Kings and Elders are not unanimous, the people may decide whether the matter shall be brought forward or not. These are democratical features. But the election of the magistrates by co-optation and their great power after they have ceased to hold office are oligarchical features. The inclination to oligarchy is further shown in the regard which is paid in all elections, to wealth. (On this point however the majority of mankind would agree with the Carthaginians.) Once more, the appointment to offices without salary, the election by vote and not by lot, and the practice of having all suits tried by certain magistrates, and not some by one and some by another, are characteristic of aristocracy. The constitution of Carthage therefore is neither a pure aristocracy nor an oligarchy, but a third form which includes both, and has regard both to merit and wealth. 1) The over-estimation of wealth leads to the sale of offices, which is a great evil. True, the rulers must have the leisure which wealth alone can supply, but office should be the reward of merit, and therefore the legislator should find some other way of making a provision for the ruling class. The sale of offices is a gross abuse, and is a bad example to the people, who always imitate their rulers. 2) It is not a good principle that one man should hold several offices. In a large state they should be distributed as much as possible. 3) The Carthaginians remedy the evils of their government by sending out colonies. The accident of their wealth and position enables them to avail themselves of this outlet; but the safety of the state should not depend upon accidents.

Of the Carthaginian constitution Aristotle knows less than of Crete or Sparta. Though he is inclined to praise, his statements hardly justify his panegyric; nor does he make good the resemblance which he assumes to exist between the Spartan and Carthaginian constitutions. The purchase of the highest offices which prevailed among the Carthaginians, and their pluralism, are corruptions, which, as far as we know, existed nowhere in

Hellas. These offices were without salary, and therefore those who bought them must have repaid themselves in other ways (§ 12).

The permanence of the Carthaginian government is to Aristotle the most striking feature of it. To Carthage, as to England, emigration was the great safeguard against political dangers. Aristotle seems to think that such a remedy is an evasion of the duties of the legislator. He strongly insists that there should be a constitutional or legal method of reforming abuses; this did not exist either in Crete or Carthage. As in some modern European states, revolution or assassination was the only remedy for them.

The defect of knowledge derived from other sources renders it difficult to form a judgement upon Aristotle's account of Carthage or even to reconcile him with himself. We cannot venture to connect his statements with the later but still scanty accounts of Carthage which have been preserved by the Romans. Nor can we correct the inaccurate statements of later writers by comparing them with one another. We do not know of whom the assembly was composed at Carthage, nor whether the council of 100 is or is not the same as the council of 104, or in what sense Carthage had or had not an exemption from revolution, or how far the club dinners may have corresponded to the Syssitia of Sparta, or whether offices were put up for sale to the highest bidder absolutely without regard to his fitness for office. To raise conjectures about these and similar uncertainties, to say what may have been or might have been, in an unknown age or country, to find reasons 'plentiful as blackberries' for one hypothesis or another, is not to make a contribution to history, and tends rather to impair the clearness of the critical vision.

c. 12. Political writers have been either private individuals or lawgivers. Of lawgivers some have framed constitutions, others have only made laws. Lycurgus and Solon did both. Of the Lacedaemonian constitution I have already spoken. There have been various opinions concerning the legislation of Solon. 1) He is thought to have produced a mixed constitution, but he did not—the addition of dicasteries appointed out of the whole people does not make the

constitution mixed, and this was the only element due to Solon, for the Areopagus and the elected magistracies existed before his time. 2) He is thought to have created the democracy; but he did nothing of the kind. The power of the people began to increase after the Persian war, and was extended by Ephialtes and Pericles, who paid the jurors and curtailed the power of the Areopagus, as well as by other demagogues who succeeded them. Incidentally the institution of the law-courts led to the creation of the democracy. But Solon neither intended nor foresaw this result. He only gave the people a voice in the election and control of the magistrates, who continued to be taken from the three higher classes of citizens.

Zaleucus and Charondas were only legislators. Zaleucus legislated for the Italian Locrians, Charondas for the Chalcidian cities of Italy and Sicily. The latter was the first who instituted actions for perjury; he is very precise in the form of his laws. Onomacritus is thought to have been even older than these; and to have been contemporary with Thales, of whom Lycurgus and Zaleucus are supposed to have been disciples; but all this is an anachronism. Philolaus, a Corinthian, who settled at Thebes, enacted 'Laws of Adoption;' Phaleas would have equalised property. Some peculiarities of Plato's legislation are the community of women and property, the common meals of women, the law that the sober should be rulers of the feast, and the training of soldiers to acquire equal skill with both hands. Draco's laws are proverbial for severity. Pittacus was merciless to drunkards. Androdamas of Rhegium legislated for the Thracian Chalcidians.

The fragmentary chapter which concludes the Book and which is in part a repetition of what has preceded, contains an interesting criticism on Solon and Pericles. Aristotle (?) defends Solon against the charge of having introduced democracy. Although he admits that there was a seed of democracy in some of the institutions of Solon, he attributes the real growth of it to the course of events, especially to the increased power deservedly gained by the people after the great sacrifices which they made in the Persian War. Ephialtes, Pericles, and other demagogues, for in this class by

implication he places them, gave too much encouragement to the democratic spirit, until Athens became what it was in later Greek history. (See also note on Text, p. 100.)

It may be observed that the writer is not quite consistent in his account of Solon; for he says, first of all, that he only introduced the dicasteries, and in a subsequent sentence that 'he *only* gave the people power to elect and control their magistrates.' How are these two statements to be reconciled with one another? He denies that Pericles [directly] created the democracy, but he admits that he did so indirectly by appointing the courts of law from all the citizens. It may be remarked also that he recapitulates what he had said about Phaleas without alluding to the previous discussion of him.

There is little or nothing in this chapter which need make us doubt its genuineness, that is to say, the degree of genuineness which we attribute to the rest of the Politics.

The writer seems rather strangely to suppose that in these few chapters he has told all that was worth telling either about the theories of philosophers or about ancient legislators. There are many matters of interest concerning which he is silent. But the beginnings of ancient criticism are fragmentary and always fall short of our wishes and expectations.

The question 'whether the virtue of the good citizen is the same as that of the good man' with which the third Book opens, is Aristotle's way of discussing what is the relation of Ethics to Politics. The modern aspect of the question will be further considered in an Essay (Vol. II) on Aristotle as a Political Philosopher. (See also Note at end of Book III.)

A science which is not yet fully established must proceed tentatively in the use of words. It has to take them from poetry or common life and to set a new stamp upon them. A special meaning has to be elicited from a generic word or a new idea to be expressed through the medium of an outward object.

Figures of speech are brought into use which gradually cease to be figurative. Abstract ideas have often to be explained by the concrete terms which correspond to them. It is easier to answer the question 'Who is a man?' than 'What is the true idea of human nature?' But these again, however familiar they may be, are perplexing when we attempt to define them. The specific use of words easily returns into the generic; the good sense passes into the neutral, or even into the bad; and what ought to be is confounded with what is. Many meanings grow out of the one (e.g. πολιτεία). Even the material substance and the idea associated with it are not always distinguished. Such variations in the use of words often occur in the same page. Hence we are not surprised that Aristotle, before enquiring into the nature of the state, should begin by asking, 'Who is a citizen?' or that the first and popular use of the words 'citizen' or 'office' should require to be modified under different forms of government: or that the term 'polity' should in the same paragraph or sentence be used to signify 'a constitution' both in the more general and the more precise sense, or that the word 'city' should mean a 'town' and also a 'state.'

In ancient philosophy as well as in modern, and in the beginning quite as much as in the decline of either, there arose casuistical questions which often did not admit of a precise answer, although the attempt to solve them may have contributed to the growth of ethical and political science. 'Is a citizen *de facto* also a citizen *de jure*?' 'What constitutes a state?' 'Should obligations incurred by one government be discharged by another?' 'Is the one best man to be a king or an exile?' Aristotle is fond of raising such questions, which he sometimes cuts short by common sense and sometimes leaves without an answer. He exaggerates conflicting points of view, and also reconciles them. The art of dialectic had not yet attained to a system, but moved forward with irregular steps. Yet by the raising of objections and the contrast of opposites a real progress was made, and a higher stage of truth attained.

BOOK III.

The definition of a citizen and of a state: several casuistical questions, of which the most important is, Whether the virtue of the good citizen is the same as that of the good man: the definition of a polity: true forms of polity and their perversions: should the few or the many or the virtuous be supreme? recapitulation: the five species of kingship.

c. 1. 'What is a state?' is the first question which the political philosopher has to determine. But a state is composed of citizens, and therefore we must further ask, 'Who is a citizen?'—Not he who lives in a particular spot, or who has the privilege of suing and being sued (for these rights are not confined to citizens); nor yet one who is either too young or too old for office, or who is disfranchised, or an exile, or a metic; but he who actually shares in the administration of justice and in offices of state. And whereas offices are either limited by time, like special magistracies, or unlimited, like the office of dicast and ecclesiast, we are here speaking of the latter only, and we want to find some common term under which both dicast and ecclesiast are included. Such a term is a holder of 'indefinite or unlimited office:'—those who share in office unlimited by time are citizens.

But since governments differ in kind and have a different place in the order of thought (for true forms are prior to perversions), the definition of the citizen will likewise differ in different states; and the definition which we have just given, strictly speaking, is suited only to a democracy. In aristocratic states like Lacedaemon and Carthage, which have no regular meetings of the ecclesia, the chief power is in the hands of the magistrates who decide all causes; and they are holders not of indefinite, but of definite offices. The words of our definition therefore, if they are to include aristocracies as well as democracies, will have to be amended: and we must say, That he is a citizen who shares in the judicial or deliberative administration of a state.

c. 2. In practice, a citizen is defined to be one of whom both the parents, or, as others say, the grandparents or great grandparents

were citizens. But here the difficulty is only carried a step or two further back. For who were the first citizens? As Gorgias said of the Larissaeans, They were an article manufactured by the magistrates. And what are we to think of those who hold office unjustly or after a revolution? The point is, not whether they are, but whether they ought to be citizens. We answer that they are included in our definition: the defect of right does not alter the fact. They hold office; and this is our criterion of citizenship.

The question suggests another question: when is an act the act c. 3.
of the state? In times of revolution persons refuse to fulfil their obligations: they say that they were contracted, not to the state, but to the governing body which has been deposed, and that the acts of the previous government, not having been established for the common good, were unlawful. But they should remember that their argument applies to all forms of government alike:—to a democracy which is founded on violence, quite as much as to an oligarchy or tyranny.

We are therefore driven to consider the question in a more general form: When is a state the same, and when different? It is not enough that the place and the inhabitants continue, or that a particular spot is surrounded by a wall. Nor does the city alter because successive generations of men come and go. The real identity is the identity of the constitution; not of the place, nor of the inhabitants. (This is true; but we must not go on to infer, that a state need not fulfil her engagements when the form of government changes.)

Connected with the question 'Who is a citizen?' there is a c. 4.
further question, 'Whether the virtue of the good citizen is also the virtue of the good man?' Before entering on this question, we must first ascertain what is the virtue of the citizen. Now different citizens have different functions, like sailors on board ship; but they have a common end, which, in the case of the sailors, is the safety of the ship, in the case of the citizens, the salvation of the state. And since forms of government differ, and the virtues of the citizens are relative to them, they cannot all have the perfect and absolute virtue of the good man. Even in the perfect state, though the members of it must all be good

citizens, we cannot suppose them to be all good men unless we suppose them to be all alike. Again, the state, like the living being, has higher and lower elements, and the virtue of all of them cannot be the same.

But is there no case in which the virtue of the good man and of the good citizen coincide? There is; for the good and wise ruler is a good and wise man. (The rule of which I am speaking, is not the rule of the master over the slave, but the constitutional rule of freemen and equals.) Therefore, in some cases, though not in all, the good citizen coincides with the good man. And if the virtue of the good man is that which rules, and the virtue of the citizen includes both ruling and obeying, from one point of view the good citizen is not only the equal, but the superior of the good man. For every citizen in a free state should learn how to become a statesman by being first a simple citizen, just as he would learn the duties of a general by being under the orders of a general. Yet the two are not the same; the justice of the ruler differs in kind, or at any rate in degree from that of the subject. And there is another difference—the ruler has knowledge, but the subject true opinion only.

c. 5. One more question:—Is the mechanic to be included among the citizens? No; for he holds no office and therefore cannot have the double virtue of ruling and obeying which makes the citizen. He can only obey and do his work: that is all. Therefore, he cannot be a citizen. But if not, what place has he in the state? The answer is, that like a slave or a freedman, he may live in the state and he may be necessary to the existence of the state, and yet not form part of it. In ancient times, the artisan class were not admitted to citizenship, and in well-ordered states they are still excluded. If they are admitted, our definition of the virtue of a citizen must be restricted to those who do not work with their hands. [For if they do, they cannot have leisure for the performance of their duties as citizens.]

The manner of treating the artisan and labouring class differs in different states. In an aristocracy, or government of the best, if such there be, they are excluded, for they are too busy to practise virtue: into an oligarchy, where only a money-qualification is

required, the mechanic may often find his way, for many of them become rich; but not the labourer, who remains poor. In democracies, not only mechanics and labourers, but, when there is a dearth of population, even aliens and persons of illegitimate birth attain the rights of citizens.

Thus we see that there are different kinds of citizens, and that the virtue of the good citizen is not always the same with that of the good man, but only the virtue of the statesman [and this only in the perfect state].

[Having defined and discussed the citizen], we will proceed to c. 6. consider constitutions or forms of government. The constitution is in fact the government; and governments vary as the governors are one, the few, or the many, and have ends higher or lower. Men are political animals, and they meet together in cities, not only because they need one another's help, but with a view to mutual improvement and well-being. And even for the sake of mere life, in which there is an element of nobility and sweetness, they still continue to maintain the political bond until the evil is too much for the good.

There are many kinds of authority:—first, that which a master exercises over his slaves. He has in view primarily his own interests, among which is accidentally included an interest in the life and health of his slave. In household management the common good of the family is primarily considered, and only secondarily the good of the ruler or head. The case is like that of the pilot or trainer, who while he takes care of those entrusted to him also incidentally takes care of himself. And so in politics; [there is a common as well as a private interest], and in all forms of government when they are false the animating principle is the interest of the individual, when they are true, the public good. [In a constitutional government] the citizens rule and are ruled in turn; they come into office and see to the affairs of others for a time, and when they go out the others come in and see to theirs. This was the original intention. But now-a-days all men are seeking for wealth to which they make office a stepping-stone. They go hunting after places as if their lives depended upon them. . . . . .

Some of the perplexities of language which beset the infancy of philosophy are the use of a generic term in its specific sense, or of a neutral term in a good sense and conversely, or the necessity of attributing to the same word a passive, active, and neuter sense. In the discussion which follows, the term πολιτεία is used of states in general and also of the state *par excellence* which, according to Aristotle, is the true form of a constitution. So in English the terms 'constitution' and 'constitutional' are used without a qualifying epithet to signify a moderate form of constitution. And in the Nicomachean Ethics, the want of a more copious vocabulary compels Aristotle in like manner to employ the word δικαιοσύνη in two or perhaps three senses for justice, honesty, and also for righteousness. The use of the term 'justice' applied to the performance of a right or to the punishment of a wrong action affords an instance of the perverse influence which cognate or paronymous words are liable to exercise upon thought. (Cp. N. E. v. 9. § 2.) The various meanings of words are generally settled by custom, and their use in each particular case determined by the context. But to the contemporaries of Aristotle the multiplicity in the meaning of words was often a source of fallacy and confusion which required to be cleared up.

The imperfection of logic in the time of Aristotle is likewise illustrated by the discussion of the question, What constitutes a state? To which the political philosopher, after rejecting the explanation of sameness of place or race, replies 'sameness of government.' But surely the sameness of a state consists in many things, and is consistent with many changes of government as well as of race or place. No one would deny that England and Sweden are the same nations or countries which existed 800 years ago; about France, Italy, Germany, or Poland, the answer would be more doubtful. The elements which constitute national identity may perhaps be reckoned in the following order, sameness of race, sameness of language, sameness of place, sameness of religion, sameness of government, sameness of character. But we must remember that the idea of sameness is relative, and in reality can never be equally applicable to the state and to the individual.

An analogous question not unconsidered by Aristotle has often

been raised in modern times, Where in case of a revolution does lawful authority reside? To which we may reply that what is ordinarily a difference in kind has become a difference of degree, and that in a state of change we must not expect either to have an unchanging authority, or to pass by a jump from one government to another. Or we may say that society is being resolved into its elements, and that for a short time the sacredness of authority is overpowered by force. Or, that to whichever side in the conflict power distinctly inclines, there authority begins to exist. Such difficulties were answered in English writers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries by asserting a divine and unchangeable right of kings or of government and a corresponding duty of passive obedience; or on the other hand by an imaginary compact which, according to Hobbes, was made once for all in the beginning of society and was therefore unchangeable,—but according to Locke and others, might at any time be altered or reversed. Such a compact was a convenient figure of speech adapted to the understanding and wants of the age, just as the divine right of kings was once a convenient symbol of the sacredness of authority.

In the writings of Aristotle incongruous notions are often brought together by the accident of a common word. The rule of a king or statesman has to be distinguished from the rule of a master over his slaves. The position of the artisan, who has already caused us a good deal of trouble, is generally assumed to be outside the pale of political society. Yet we are surprised to find that there are some oligarchies, in which even the artisan, if he acquires property, may become a member of the state. And we end where we might have begun, with what to us appears to be rather a commonplace conclusion, that under different forms of government there are various kinds of citizens.

The question whether democracy and oligarchy derive their character respectively from wealth and poverty or from the fewness and multitude of the citizens, would hardly have occurred to a modern political writer. The majority, as at Colophon, or to take modern instances, in Australia or America, may be well-to-do, the poor may be a minority. Yet such a state will be a democracy, for every citizen equally shares in the government. But it might

be argued that even in a Greek Republic, as in the United States, the real character of democracy would be greatly modified by the prosperity of the people. Aristotle has stated the possible combinations of the different elements; but in this passage he has not fairly balanced them with one another. It might with equal truth be affirmed that democracy was the government of the many or of the poor, oligarchy of the few or of the rich. But it would be truer still to say that in a democracy are commonly included the many and the poor, in an oligarchy the few and the wealthy; and this is in fact Aristotle's own conclusion in the Fourth Book (c. 4. § 4), where he returns to the subject. Oligarchy and democracy may also be regarded as relative terms; and there is always a residuum of either in the other; for democracy is led by a few, and all the members of an oligarchy claim to be equal with one another. Nor can we say how strong may be the elements of conservatism which are latent in the mass of the people who are averse to many kinds of change, or how much of the revolutionary temper may lurk in ambitious members of an oligarchy who are attracted by contrast, or stimulated by private hatred or interest.

Another question is a source of still more serious perplexity to Aristotle,—it had been already discussed by Plato: Should men be governed by a law or by a person? By the law which cannot take cognizance of particular cases, or by the person who can? The practice of the Athenians, whose laws were written down on square or triangular lecterns (κύρβεις) placed in the agora, and of the Lacedaemonians, who for the most part decided causes without written law by judgments of the Gerousia and the Ephors, afforded conspicuous examples of the two opposite principles. All law must have been originally unwritten, though it is probable also that in primitive times cases may have been decided by precedent. The claims both of the law and of the individual judge are asserted by Aristotle. What law can have a right to limit the actions of the perfectly just man who is a law to himself, and yet, if there is to be equality among equals, how can all the other citizens be excluded from power? To which the answer is made that he is not an equal any more than Zeus among the gods. Aristotle wavers between these two points of view which he almost

brings to an agreement; for the law must be executed by judges; and the one wise ruler will have other wise men to assist him in his judicial labours.

Throughout the Politics he is distracted between an ideal perfection and the actual conditions of human life, and often passes unconsciously from one to the other. The best state in the Seventh Book comes round to be little more than an ordinary Greek state which is placed under favourable circumstances. The aim of the state should be the highest virtue, yet virtue is also relative to the form of government; the virtue of a democracy is not the same with that of an oligarchy. Even the political virtues are not all equally required of all magistrates. In idea the one best man is to be lord and master of all; in fact he is to be ostracised. And it is intimated that there is a good deal to be said in favour of this latter mode of procedure. According to Plato in the Republic the true ruler was entrusted with power, not for his own good, but for the good of his subjects, and he distinguishes governments into true and false as they aim at the good of the governed or of the governors themselves. Aristotle in like manner lays down the principle that all true forms of government exist only for the good of the governed; all false ones for the good of the rulers. That he should have passed from the ideal to the actual, or that he should have clothed the ideal in fanciful forms, is not surprising.

c. 7. We have next to consider how many and what forms of government there are and how they differ from each other. The supreme power must always be exercised either by one, or by a few, or by many. The true forms are those which regard the common interest: the perverted forms have in view only the private interests of the rulers. The rule of one is called royalty, the rule of a few, aristocracy, the rule of many, polity or constitutional government, when these forms severally aim at the good of the governed. They are called tyranny, oligarchy, democracy, when they have regard to the good of a single person or class only, of the king, of the wealthy or of the needy. The general term 'polity' is naturally applied in a specific sense, because the form of government

designated by it is the most popular and comprehensive. For few are capable of every kind of virtue, and therefore there are few royalties or aristocracies; but military virtue is found in all classes, and is shared by the many. And thus arises polity or constitutional government, in which the heavy-armed soldiers have the supreme power.

c. 8. But the differences in forms of government do not depend solely on number and quantity; the element of quality must also be included. Democracy, for example, is said to be the government of the many and of the poor. But what if the many are rich? does the form of government continue to be a democracy? Oligarchy again is defined to be the government of the few and of the rich, but if the few are poor, what becomes of the definition? In any case, how shall we describe those states in which a rich majority or in which a poor minority are rulers?

We answer that the number of the governing class in oligarchy and democracy is unessential. The true characteristic of oligarchy is wealth, of democracy, poverty. But in fact the two definitions generally coincide; for the wealthy are almost always the few and the many are the poor.

c. 9. Yet neither the claim of freedom nor the claim of wealth is really just: for justice is the distribution of the right thing to the right person. The self-love of the oligarch or of the democrat puts relative in the place of absolute justice:—the one thinks that inequality in wealth involves inequality in everything: the other that equality in freedom involves equality in everything. They both forget that the true end of the state is not wealth or freedom, but a good life. Mere life is not enough; if it were, slaves and brute animals would be citizens. Neither do community of place nor rights of intermarriage and trade constitute a state. Nor can commercial treaties or defensive alliances give a true political life; for there is no superior power which can enforce them, and the inhabitants of one state do not care about the virtues or vices of other states if only they keep faith with them. Even within the limits of a single state the prevention of crime and the promotion of trade are secondary objects. The life of virtue is the only true and sufficient end of the state. Men may live in the neighbourhood

of one another, or even in the same place, and intermarry and trade and meet at festivals and form alliances. But these are means and conditions only; virtue is the end. Political society exists for the sake of virtue, and they who contribute most to this end have a greater right to power in the state than the rich or noble. But if so, those who make justice relative to a particular form of government speak of a part of justice only.

c. 10. Yet another question: Who ought to have the supreme authority in the state? The many,—the wealthy,—the tyrant,—the good,—the one best man? Any of these alternatives may lead to bad results. If the poor rule, they may divide the property of the rich. Is not this unjust? 'Nay,' will be the reply, 'the people did it.' But if they go on and on, the poor majority dividing by force the wealth of the rich minority, the state will be ruined. And on the same principle the rich or the tyrant may rob the poor. Yet surely justice is the preservation and not the destruction of states. The people, if they plunder the rich, are no better than the tyrant; both make might prevail over right. 'But ought not the good to rule?' Then a slight will be put upon everybody else. 'Or the one best man?'—that will make the number excluded still larger. Or, shall the law, and not the will of man, have the supreme power? And what if the law be defective?

c. 11. The rule of many is upon the whole the best solution of these difficulties. The people, taken collectively, though composed of ordinary individuals, have more virtue and wisdom than any single man among them. As the feast to which many contribute is better than the feast given by one, as the judgment of the many at the theatre is truer than the judgment of one, as a good man and a fair work of art have many elements of beauty or goodness combined in them;—so the assembly of the people has more good sense and wisdom than any individual member of it. The good qualities which are scattered about in individuals are combined in it. But is this principle really applicable to bodies of men? To some, not to all; for there are assemblies of men who are no better than brutes. But there are men of another sort, whom union makes wise. And if so, our difficulties are at an end; this is our answer to the question, Who are to be the rulers of states?

But a new dilemma arises. The many are not fit to hold great offices of state, and yet if they are excluded, they will be dangerous. They had better therefore have some judicial and deliberative functions,—such a power as Solon gave them of electing the magistrates and calling them to account. Although they are not fit to form a judgment individually, they have sense enough when they meet. But some one will still argue that the magistrates should be elected and called to account by their peers, just as in the arts the expert must be judged by the expert, the physician by some one who understands medicine, whether he be a professional physician or not. Once more we reply that the people collectively have more wisdom than any individual among them. Besides, in many of the arts the user is a better judge than the artist.

Yet one more difficulty remains:—The election and calling to account of the magistrates is the highest of political functions; should such a power be entrusted to the people rather than to men of position and fortune? The old answer must be repeated. The power resides, not in the individual, but in the assembly or law-court; and collectively the wealth and the wisdom of the people are greater than that of any one or a few individuals.

The previous enquiry shows plainly that the people must govern, but they must govern according to law. The laws therefore, when good, should be supreme, and the magistrates should only speak when the laws are unable to speak.—But what are good laws? We reply generally that the goodness of the laws is relative to the goodness of the constitution: true forms of government have just laws, perverted forms have unjust laws.

[In the next chapter, after having disposed of the difficulty which he had suggested, Aristotle returns to the subject of Chap. ix.]

c. 12. All arts and sciences aim at some good, and the good or end of the highest of all, the political, is justice, which is another name for the common interest. And justice is defined to be equality in relation to persons. But there arises the question: In what does this equality consist? Some will say that equality or superiority in any single respect gives a claim in all other respects. But this is absurd; no man can claim political rights on the ground that he

is tall or good-looking. The skill of a flute-player is not more highly esteemed because he is richer or better born, but because he is the superior performer. How can there be any comparison of things so dissimilar as wealth and flute-playing or stature and freedom? Not every kind of superiority, then, gives a claim to office, but only wealth and rank and freedom; for these are necessary elements of a state. And we must add justice and courage; for courage is essential to the well-being, justice to the very existence, of a state.

First, and above all, if we take into account a good life, c. 12. education and virtue have superior claims. These are the true bases of government; but the assertion of absolute equality among equals or of absolute inequality among unequals is mischievous and false. The relative claim does not give an absolute claim. The rich have a greater stake in the country; the free and the noble have inherited good qualities from their ancestors, and their claim is always recognised in their own country; the virtuous have a claim because justice is the virtue which unites men in states, and all the others are implied in it; the many, taken collectively, are stronger, richer, and better than the few. But let us suppose the rich, the free, the virtuous, to be living together in the same city, which of them ought to govern? (There is no difficulty at all in determining who should rule in a democracy or in an oligarchy.) But suppose all the elements to co-exist in the same state, how are we to decide between them? The virtuous will probably be too few to administer the state. And if men are to govern because they are more virtuous or richer or higher in rank, on the same principle the most virtuous, or the richest or the highest in rank, ought to rule over them all. If, again, the many claim to rule because they are the stronger, with equal justice the strongest of all will claim to rule over the others. Hence we infer that none of them have any claim to the exclusion of the rest.

A similar question:—Should the laws be made for the higher classes, or for all? We answer that the laws should be just, and that the just is the equal, and has regard to the common good of the citizens. The laws therefore cannot regard the good of one

class only, but of all the citizens. The good citizen is both ruler and subject, not a member of one class only. [And he would be excluded from the operation of a law which related to a class only.] Once more [this is the old question repeated]: What if the virtue of any one citizen very far exceed the virtues of the rest,—is it not unjust that he should be only the equal of the others? for he is a God among men. Laws apply only to equals; and he is himself a law. Democracies feel the inconvenience which arises out of the presence of men who are pre-eminent by their wealth or influence, and they have recourse to ostracism. Oligarchs and tyrants are in the same difficulty. Nor can any form of government allow the existence of a person superior to itself. The argument in favour of ostracism is based on a political necessity. The painter does not allow any feature in the face, nor the ship-builder any part of the ship, to be out of proportion to the rest; and the citizen must not be out of proportion to the state. But the legislator should, if possible, so order his state that the evil will not arise; that would be far better. Ostracism is liable to abuse and is essentially unjust; it has been employed for purposes of faction, and not for the good of the state. In perverted forms of government such a practice may be expedient; in the ideal state, who would think of expelling the one best man? But what is the alternative? If he cannot be a subject, he must be a king.

c. 14. Thus from the consideration of the question,—Who is the true ruler in states? we are led to speak of royalty and to examine the kinds of it. They are five: 1. The Lacedaemonian, which is a perpetual generalship, either hereditary or elective, having the power of life and death, but, like the Homeric chiefs, only in the field. To the king matters of religion are also committed. 2. The despotic form of monarchy which prevails among barbarians and is exercised over voluntary subjects; for the people are willing to obey, because they are by nature slaves, and therefore such governments are hereditary and legal. In one sense they are tyrannies, because their subjects are slaves: but there is no danger of their being overthrown; for they are guarded not by mercenaries but by their own people. 3. The dictatorship or elective tyranny, which, under

the name Aesymnetia, existed in ancient Hellas, and was legal but not hereditary; it lasted either for life or for a term of years, or until certain duties had been performed. Such an office was held by Pittacus at Mitylene, whom Alcaeus, the leader of the exiles, denounces in his poems. 4. A fourth kind of monarchy, that of the Heroic times, was hereditary and legal, and was exercised over willing subjects. The first monarchs were benefactors of the people in arts or arms; they procured lands or built cities for them, and the prerogatives which they acquired descended to their children. They were priests and judges and warriors, and had a supreme authority over all things. Afterwards their power declined; and at length the office of priest or general alone remained to them. 5. There is a fifth form of absolute kingship which exercises an universal power, like that of the state over the public property, or that of a master over a household.

Of these five forms the first and fifth alone need consideration; c. 15.
the rest differ from them not in kind but in degree. Thus two questions remain: 1. Is a perpetual generalship advantageous to the state? This question likewise may be dismissed; for a perpetual generalship is not a constitution, but an office established by law which may exist equally under any form of government. 2. Should one man have absolute power? Such a royalty is certainly a form of government; but many difficulties are involved in it.

Already we are engaged in the old controversy,—whether the best laws or the best man should rule. Both views are tenable. The advocate of royalty says that the law cannot provide for particular cases. To whom we may fairly reply: Neither can the ruler dispense with a general principle which is law; and the law which is passionless is to be preferred to the caprice of the individual. Says the advocate of royalty, An individual must advise in individual cases. [To whom we in turn reply that] There must be a legislator, whether he be called a king or not, who will make laws, and these laws will have validity as far as they are adapted to their ends. But there is still a question: When there is a defect in the law, who shall decide, the expert or the multitude? Our conclusion is that the collective wisdom of the many is to be preferred to the one wise man. They will not all go

wrong together, and by reason of their numbers they are less corruptible, less liable to passion, and not more subject to faction than the individual. You will say: That they may be divided among themselves, but that he cannot be divided. Answer, They are quite as good as he. And are not many good men better than one? But if so aristocracy is to be preferred to royalty. The reason why ancient governments were monarchies is that in early times there were only a few good men who could confer benefits, and these benefactors were made kings. The reason why democracies are a necessity in our own day is that all men are pretty much on an equality, and no one is pre-eminent among his fellows. When good men increased in number, royalties passed into aristocracies; these degenerated into oligarchies. Oligarchies passed into tyrannies, and tyrannies became democracies, for the rich became fewer and fewer, and the poor more and more numerous. And democracy seems to be the only form of government any longer possible, now that cities are increased in size.

Two more questions: 1. Should monarchy be hereditary? No, for the next generation may be quite ordinary persons, and yet the king will be constrained by natural affection to bequeath his power to his sons, however ill-fitted they may be to succeed him. 2. Should he have a military force? Yes, but only such a force as will be sufficient to control individuals, not to overawe the mass of the citizens.

c. 16. Absolute monarchy is held to be contrary to nature. Equals are deemed to have an equal right and worth; and therefore they must all have their turn of ruling and being ruled in an order of succession fixed by law. (For law is already implied, if there is an order of succession.) The law is preferable to the rule of individuals; wherefore judges should be only the ministers of the law, and when they take office they must judge according to law. But if the law cannot decide, what then? Then we must have recourse to skilled persons, who are expressly trained to decide causes which are omitted by the law; they may even go further and amend the law. But still they are its servants. The rule of the law is the rule of God and reason: in the rule of man there is an

element of the beast. It is argued on the other hand that the physician does not cure his patients according to fixed rules which are found in a book, but then he is not liable to be affected by motives of party or interest. Men desire impartiality; the law is impartial. And even if there are cases in which the opinion of the one man is better than law, custom may be better still.

There is another point of view from which the subject may be approached. Every magistrate must have subordinates; 'two going together' and 'ten such counsellors' as Homer says; and it is desirable that they should be regularly appointed. Matters of detail cannot always be comprehended under laws; and therefore they are referred to the decision of individuals. But many are better than one, just as many eyes or hands or feet are better than a single pair. The eyes of kings are the friends who are their second-selves, and are therefore appointed to rule by them. Thus the two points of view tend to approximate, and royalty in seeking for instruments of government is converted into an aristocracy.

But is the doctrine that the law is better than the individual c. 17.
applicable to all forms of government? No, not to all, but only to those which are legitimate, such as that which a master exercises over his household, or a king over his subjects, or a free people over itself. For no man should be lord over his equals, whether there are laws or whether there are no laws, always excepting the case of the one best man.

A people capable of producing a superior race are fitted for monarchy, and a people who willingly submit to their superiors in virtue are adapted for aristocracy. To a warlike multitude of freemen who rule and are ruled in turn, and who select their officers according to merit, a constitutional government is best suited. When a family or a single person is pre-eminent in virtue, they are the natural kings and lords of the state. And the one best man or born superior in virtue cannot be ostracized or killed. Neither can he be a subject. He is the superior person; the ideal or whole of which the state is only a part. What is the inference? He must be the ruler of the state for life.

We see then that the true forms of government are three: c. 18.

1) in which there is one man, or 2) a family, or 3) many men, of pre-eminent virtue, and both rulers and subjects rule and obey with a view to the best life. We have already explained that the virtue of the good man is the same with that of the citizen of the perfect state; and that the term good has the same meaning whether applied to states or individuals. The education therefore of the good man and of the good statesman or king will be the same.

The criticisms of royalty in the latter part of the Third Book are many of them unsatisfactory. It is not true that the kingship of Sparta was merely a generalship for life, and when Aristotle says that of such monarchies some are hereditary and some elective, he appears to be making a logical division not to be found in history, —at any rate we cannot tell to what or to whom he is referring. Neither is it true that of the five kinds of monarchy two only differ in kind; for there are essential differences between all the five. Still more unreasonable is the dismissal of the first kind on the ground that it is only a generalship for life, when we consider that the Spartan monarchy was the single monarchical institution in Hellas. The five kinds are thus reduced to one. Neither is the account of the origin of kingship given in this place really based upon the experience of history. In a few instances it is true that benefits conferred on a city or nation have raised men to power; but more often the power of a chief or king has originated in superior bodily strength or superior intelligence directed to a private end. Barbarous cunning has often founded kingdoms.

The favourite speculation which Aristotle has inherited from Plato, whether the law or the wise man is to be supreme, is represented by analogous questions in modern times: How much is to be common or statute law? what is the place of custom and precedent? how much is to be left to the direction of the judge? These are inquiries which are not without interest to the modern jurist. The problem is, What elements of law should be fixed and permanent, and what proportion should they bear to the floating and transient? Laws must be known beforehand, or the offender cannot justly be subjected to them. At first they are simple and general; then as society becomes more complex, the

interstices of these general principles require to be filled up with details which are demanded by new occasions. But the new occasions are infinite; and hence at some point the individual must decide. How far he is to bring the question at issue under some existing law or analogy of law; how far in the absence of law he may freely use common sense, are points which will be determined differently by different minds and different schools of jurisprudence. Do what he will he cannot get rid of the past, nor can he always find there a solution for the present. Like Aristotle, he will be disposed to regard custom as a mediator between the two contending principles. And in modern times, where there are representative institutions, the power of determining causes, which the ancients gave either to the magistrates as in an oligarchy, or to a popular assembly as in a democracy, acting separately, will be transferred to the one and many acting together as judge and jury.

This book is characterized by great want of arrangement and frequent repetition. The paradox that the many are wiser than the few is affirmed again and again. The paradox of the one best man also occurs twice over. Such an ideal was evidently a notion common in the age of Aristotle; it culminated in the Stoical wise man. Several controversies seem to be protracted long after we ought to have finished with them.

But notwithstanding paradoxes and want of arrangement, this book contains many noble passages, such for example as the two declarations that the rule of law is the rule of God and of reason; and that the state exists for the sake of a good life, and without virtue has no true existence; or the favourite thesis that all true forms of government have regard to the good of the governed; or the final conclusion, arrived at after many tossings of the argument to and fro, that from the higher point of view and in the perfect state the good citizen, or at any rate the good ruler, is identical with the good man.

THE Fourth Book of Aristotle's Politics does not furnish many new ideas. The most original of them is the middle state, which will be discussed more at length in a separate Essay (vol. ii). The book contains some excellent remarks, and some things hard to be understood. Among noble and liberal sentiments may be reckoned the requirement that all should take part in the government; the reflections that political tricks and devices are foolish and useless; that the poor should receive gentle treatment; that there must not only be good laws in the state, but the spirit of obedience; and the fine observation (taken from Plato) that, even in states which do not make virtue the aim of the community, men of a noble nature may be found. Among difficulties may be mentioned the distinctions without a difference in the subdivisions of oligarchies and democracies; the distinction between the laws and the constitution, which elsewhere is forgotten (cp. iii. 15, § 2); the two combinations in the twelve forms of appointment to offices; the sudden transition in the enumeration of the different kinds of law courts to political cases, which are no sooner spoken of than the consideration of them is dropped; or the mention in c. 7. § 2 of 'the form of government to which the term aristocracy is rightly applied in the first part of our treatise,' a reference to which there is no antecedent, either in the previous Books, or, if the order is transposed, in the Seventh Book.

BOOK IV.

The absolutely, relatively, conditionally, and on the average best forms of government: why forms of government differ, and what are their component elements: the varieties of oligarchy and democracy: of aristocracy and polity: of tyranny: the forms taken by the deliberative and executive power under different constitutions.

c. 1. Every art which embraces an entire subject must take in all the branches of that subject. Gymnastic, for example, includes 1) the training which is best absolutely; 2) which is best suited to different individuals; 3) which is not the best, either relative

absolutely, though sometimes wanted, and must therefore be understood and taught by the training master; 4) which is best for the majority. So too the art of politics comprehends several forms of government,—1) the ideal state, 2) the state which is best relatively to circumstances, 3) the inferior state placed under inferior conditions and not making the best use of them, 4) the best average state.

We must aim at what is practicable; and not, like [Plato and other] political writers who have excellent but impossible ideas, seek after an unattainable perfection. Any change which we desire to introduce should be congenial as well as possible; for to reform is as difficult as to create, to unlearn as to learn. The statesman should not be a mere theorist; but he should have a true political insight into the evils of states and their remedies. And he should not fall into the error of supposing that there is only one kind of democracy and one kind of oligarchy; for there are many. He should know, not only which government is the best, but which is the best under the circumstances, and not only which laws are the best, but which are adapted to one form of constitution rather than to another. The laws are the rules according to which magistrates administer the state; but they vary under different governments, and are not to be confounded with the principles of the constitution.

c. 2. We have said that there are three true forms of government—royalty, aristocracy, polity; and three perversions—tyranny, oligarchy, democracy. Royalty and aristocracy have been already (?) discussed, for they are included in the perfect state; both imply a principle of virtue provided with external goods.—Of perversions, tyranny, which is the perversion of the best and most divine, is necessarily the worst. Not so bad is oligarchy; and last and least bad is democracy. A certain writer [Plato] is wrong in saying that democracy, although the worst of good constitutions, is the best of bad ones; for there is no best; all perversions are bad.

Leaving this question we will proceed to describe, 1) the different forms of oligarchy and of democracy; 2) the constitution which is next best after the perfect, and best suited to states in general; 3) the people to whom each of the other constitutions is

suited; 4) the manner in which these inferior forms of government are severally to be established; 5) the causes of the preservation or ruin of states.

c. 3. There are many kinds of states, because every state contains many elements, [which are combined in many ways]. Differences of rank, wealth, merit, are found in them all. Some of the citizens are armed and some unarmed. The common people have their various employments. Even among the notables there are gradations of wealth, shown, for example, by the number of horses which they keep. And as the poor, or the middle class, or the notables predominate, they divide the government among themselves.

Hence arise various forms of constitutions. There are generally thought to be two principal ones, democracy, the rule of the many, oligarchy, the rule of the few; the rest are included under them, aristocracy being a kind of oligarchy, and polity a kind of democracy, as men say of the winds that there are two only, North and South, the West being a variation of the North, and the East of the South; and of the harmonies that there are two kinds, the Dorian and the Phrygian, other adaptations of the scale being comprehended under these. But it is better to distinguish one or two true forms, i.e. royalty or aristocracy, and to regard all the others, however many there may be, as perversions of these. And, adopting the language of music, we may compare oligarchy to the severer, democracy to the more relaxed harmonies.

Figures of speech in modern writers are only illustrations by which we seek to convey abstract ideas in a lively form. They provide a rest or refreshment in an argument, like the pictures in a book, and when we lay them aside, they leave the mind free from the associations of sense. We do not argue from them or allow them to influence our judgment. But among ancient philosophers, figures of speech and other picturesque forms of expression generally affect the ideas which are conveyed through them. The liveliness of the image is purchased at the cost of a certain amount of error. Although Aristotle contemptuously says of Plato, τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶ λέγειν μεταφορὰς ποιητικάς (Met. i. 991. 22 a), he is himself often under the influence of language borrowed from sense.

CALIFORNIA

The comparison of the state to the human body or to the living animal is one of the most fruitful of the images used by ancient philosophy. It represents to the mind the unity in plurality of the state, the complexity and interdependence of the parts, and the common life which animates them: 'as there are many members in one body, and all members have not the same office, so we being many are one body.' Many political as well as theological ideas have been suggested by this image. It is better than 'a machine,' to which the state is often compared in modern times. But it is far from 'going on all fours,' or furnishing an exact or scientific analogy. The unity and continuity of the state are different from the unity and continuity of the individual; the state has a longer life than the individual, but is less united; it has no consciousness or conscience, but only public opinion; and its freedom of action is more limited.

The variety in the organs of animals to which Aristotle refers below, is a laboured and imperfect image of the differences in forms of government. For neither do the differences in the forms of the organs constitute the differences of animals, nor the differences in the classes of citizens the varieties of states. It would be a truer supposition that both states and animals are made after different types or patterns, though there are some points in which they all resemble each other. We may say of nature what Aristotle says of the political society, that the whole is prior to the part. The comparison of the higher classes of the state to the soul and the lower classes to the body, though in one point of view elevating, is also degrading; for the lower classes have minds equally with the higher; nor is the relation between the two analogous to that of the soul and the body.

Democracy is not simply the rule of the majority, nor oligarchy c. 4.
of the minority; for in every form of government the majority rules. Neither is a rich majority a democracy, nor a poor minority an oligarchy. The prime and characteristic quality of democracy is freedom, of oligarchy, wealth. But the freemen must be poor and a majority; the oligarchs must be a wealthy and noble minority.

Besides the constitutions already mentioned, I have alluded to

other forms of government, which vary with the variations of their component parts. Their differences may be illustrated by the varieties among animals, which likewise originate in differences of the essential organs, such as the stomach, mouth, eyes, organs of locomotion, and the like; for there are as many animals as there are possible changes and combinations of these organs. In like manner the state has various elements, husbandmen, artisans, traders, serfs, and the differences of states are caused by different combinations of these elements. A warrior class must be added; for they are as necessary to the state as any other. Plato was mistaken in saying that a state consisted of four persons only, 1) a weaver, 2) a husbandman, 3) a shoemaker, 4) a builder,— these are his four original citizens, to whom he afterwards adds, a smith, a herdsman, a merchant, and retailer. But there are other elements no less essential. The higher classes, such as 5) the warriors, or 6) the deliberative and judicial class, are more truly parts of the state than any other. 7) There are the wealthy, and 8) the magistrates. Some of these classes overlap, and the same persons fall under more than one of them. But two of them, the rich and the poor, exclude one another, and therefore furnish a basis for the classification of states. Hence there are supposed to be two kinds of government, democracy and oligarchy. These are the greater divisions of states, and there are subdivisions, varying as the classes vary out of which democracies or oligarchies are composed. The common people differ in their occupations and modes of life, and the notables differ according to their wealth, birth, virtue, education.

Of democracies there are five kinds: 1) the democracy in which nobody is poor, and nobody is rich or superior, but all are equal and equally share in the government; 2) in which a low property qualification is required for citizenship; 3) in which all who are not disqualified [by birth] share in the government; but in this, as in the preceding forms, the law is supreme; 4) in which everybody, without any scrutiny of his rights, has a share in the government; but the law is supreme as before; 5) the democracy in which there is no law, but the tyrant people, flattered by their leaders, set aside the law and the government is carried on by decrees.

For in democracies, as in tyrannies, there are flatterers, and the extreme democracy is to other democracies what tyranny is to legitimate forms of monarchy. [N.B. It is difficult to distinguish 1), which seems to be a general description of democracy, from some of the other forms, or 3) from 4).]

The stages of democracy may be traced as follows: The govern- c. 6. §§ 1-6.
ment is administered according to law, 1) when the people are husbandmen moderately well off and are compelled to live by the labour of their hands but are not paid for the performance of political duties; for then nobody is excluded who has the required qualification; but they do not come to the assembly, because they cannot spare time, and so the law rules and not the multitude: 2) when every one whose parents are citizens has a share of power, and still, because there is no way of providing pay, the law rules: 3) when all freemen have a share, and still no pay: 4) but when, as in our modern overgrown cities, pay is given, the state is governed by the multitude who have nothing else to do, and not by the laws.

Of oligarchies there are four kinds: 1) in which there is a c. 5. §§ 1, 2.
qualification high enough to exclude the masses: 2) in which there is a high qualification, and the vacancies in the governing body are filled up by co-optation: 3) in which the son succeeds the father: 4) in which there is an arbitrary rule of powerful families called a dynastia; this is among oligarchies what tyranny is among monarchies and the worst form of democracy among democracies.

The stages of oligarchy may be traced as follows: 1) The first c. 6. §§ 7-11.
form of oligarchy is based upon the possession of moderate property; and the owners of property being numerous and having to attend to their property admit the rule of law: in a second form 2) the properties are larger, and the owners fewer. In a third 3) the government is hereditary and passes into the hands of a small number of families. In all these three forms, as in the three corresponding forms of democracy, the law is observed, and is the instrument by which the rulers carry out their wishes. But there is a fourth form, 4) in which the law is set aside, and a few leading families take possession of the government, which thus approximates to a monarchy.

c. 5. §§ 3-4. But in distinguishing different kinds of government, it must also be remembered that a constitution framed in one spirit may be administered in another, e.g. an oligarchy may be administered in a popular, a democracy in an exclusive spirit. This frequently happens after a revolution; old habits linger although the government is changed. The laws remain, but the victorious party keep the power in their own hands.

c. 7. There are yet two other forms of government, 1) aristocracy and 2) polity; the first has been generally recognized, but the latter is often overlooked by writers on these subjects. Aristocracy or the government of the best, taken in the highest and first sense of the word, is the ideal state, or the state in which the good man is absolutely the same as the good citizen. But in a secondary sense it is applied to another kind of state, which is neither oligarchy, nor polity, but a mixed government taking three forms; 1) as at Carthage where regard is had to wealth, numbers, and merit; 2) or to merit and numbers as at Lacedaemon; and there is 3) that form of polity which inclines to oligarchy.

c. 8. And now I have to speak of polity, which, like the above-mentioned aristocracies, is not a perversion, but only a falling short from the perfect state. This form of government is a fusion of democracy and oligarchy; it is usually called polity when inclining towards democracy, and aristocracy when approaching more nearly to oligarchy, the latter because birth and education are commonly accompanied by wealth, and the rich by their external advantages are placed above crime. Whence oligarchy and aristocracy are often confused; for they are both supposed to be a government of the best, and it is thought that the government of the best can never be bad. Now there are two things to be considered: the goodness of the laws, and the willingness of the citizens to obey them; for in an oligarchy there may be good laws which are never observed. And the citizen of a state may obey not the best laws, but the best which are attainable by them.

Polity or constitutional government is not like aristocracy based on merit; it only seeks to unite the freedom of the poor majority with the wealth of the rich minority. When it includes virtue, it is fairly entitled to be called aristocracy, not in the highest, but in the

secondary sense of the term. It combines the characteristics of c. 9.
oligarchy and democracy. There are three ways in which the two latter may be united so as to form a polity: either 1) elements may be taken from both, e. g. the government may give pay to the poor as in a democracy for coming to the courts of law, and fine the rich as in an oligarchy for abstaining: or 2) there may be a mean between the two: instead of a high property qualification, or none at all, a moderate one may be imposed: or 3) [in the same public act] something may be borrowed by the government from both; e. g. the magistrates may be elected by vote as in an oligarchy, and without a property qualification as in a democracy. The fusion is most complete when the mixed state may be termed indifferently democracy or oligarchy, like the Lacedaemonian, which in the election of the Ephors by all out of all, and of the Elders by all, and in the common education of all the citizens and common meals and dress, has the character of a democracy; in the power entrusted to a few magistrates of inflicting death or banishment and in the election of them by vote, resembles an oligarchy. In a polity both should be present, and neither seen; and the government should depend for support not on foreign aid, but on the good-will of the citizens.

Tyranny must also be accounted a form of government. Two c. 10.
kinds of it have been already discussed, 1) the barbarian monarchy, 2) the Aesymnetia or dictatorship which existed in ancient Hellas. Both these, although they possess absolute power, may be said to be royal in so far as the monarch rules according to law and over willing subjects. But the true or typical form of tyranny is the arbitrary power of an individual crushing everybody alike, and governing only for his own advantage and against the will of his subjects,—a government which is detestable to freemen.

The want of arrangement in the Politics is nowhere greater than in the Fourth Book. There is a pretence of order which increases the confusion. The elaborate preface has hardly any relation to what follows. After dividing governments into 1) the best absolutely, 2) the best relatively, 3) the best on the average, 4) the inferior sort, the writer sets aside the first 'because it has been already (?) discussed under the subject of monarchy,' and

silently drops the fourth. The two which remain are formally distinguished, but are not really very different from each other. But he partly identifies them with the actual forms of government, which are discussed at disproportionate length. Such is the confusion of style, that while in the Fourth Book he seems to consider this middle or average form of government to be the only preservative of states, in the Fifth Book, where the subject is treated of more at length, many instructions are given by which all varieties of government may be preserved.

In the enumeration of the states which are best relatively to circumstances, that is to say, the ordinary Greek states, he passes in Chap. 6 from oligarchy to democracy, and from democracy back again to oligarchy. He then proceeds to speak of polity, which he describes as a fusion of the two. The best state for the average of mankind seems to be the same or nearly the same with what he has already called polity, and what he afterwards calls the 'middle constitution,'—i.e. not the best actual state, but the best practicable under ordinary conditions. Then returning to oligarchy and democracy, he reckons up the devices by which they respectively seek to get the better of one another; and having gained what he calls an appropriate basis of discussion, which is only a recital of the different forms of oligarchy and democracy, he proceeds to enumerate the parts of states. But in this enumeration he is far from showing that different forms of government are made up of the same component elements differently modified, which seems to be implied when he says that the kinds of states as of animals are formed by variations of the same organs. It is not clear whether here, as in Book III, he would include in his definition of offices dicasts and ecclesiasts; nor does he distinguish satisfactorily between deliberative and judicial offices. The term 'office' he is here disposed to confine to magistrates. The above-mentioned transitions, the incomplete treatment of subjects which have been introduced with a sort of flourish and are quickly dropped, the tendency to let the meaning of words slide, such as aristocracy, office, polity, give rise to further difficulties in this part of the work. The twelve modes and the two combinations according to which officers or magistrates are to be appointed, and the parallel list of

the law-courts, though standing in some relation to actual facts, are for the most part a logical fiction.

The idea of the middle constitution, that form of government which one legislator alone, and he unknown to us, sought to establish in Hellas, is also indistinct. Aristotle describes it as a combination of democracy and oligarchy; for his tendency is to regard forms of government as running into one another. To us it rather appears to be intermediate between them. It is allied both to aristocracy and to democracy; but is not a fusion of them. The conception of aristocracy is hazy to us. It is said to be a government of the best men or of virtue; but we know of no Hellenic state in which such a government existed; nor is a hint given of any method by which the government of the virtuous only could be secured. Strictly speaking, it only applies to the ideal state. Oligarchy, democracy, tyranny, had a real life, and were at different periods of Greek history in conflict with one another. They were more or less moderate or just in the administration of the state; but the other governments, polity and aristocracy, were a shadow only, in which the ideal of philosophy mingled with a tradition of an earlier time, when the government of one or a few had been more natural and just than in the later ages of Hellas. Aristotle never distinguishes these two elements; nor does he apply the term aristocracy, except in the sense of an aristocracy of birth, to any Hellenic state. In the traditional meaning of the word, Sparta is called an aristocracy, but at the same time a democracy. His aristocracy, when not used in the ideal sense, really comes back to the 'bad' and 'good' of Theognis and Alcaeus.

There is a similar verbal difficulty about oligarchy: was it really a government of the few rich or of the few noble? Many prejudices would have to be got over in a state before the *nouveaux riches* would be admitted into the ranks of the nobility; nor, except at Athens, under the Solonian constitution, do we certainly know of any Hellenic state in which rights of citizenship depended upon wealth, although this arrangement is frequently alluded to by Aristotle; v. c. 3, §§ 8, 10; vi. c. 6, §§ 16–18; c. 7, § 9, etc. Both by Aristotle and Plato oligarchy is described as the government of the wealthy, in Plato rather of those who have remained wealthy,

when the rest of the governing class have become impoverished; but in Aristotle clearly those who have made, as well as those who have inherited their wealth, even the artisans, are admitted to the government. The truth seems to be that oligarchies were originally founded upon birth; the oligarchs were the ancient houses of the city, or the leaders of the new settlement, in whom wealth and birth generally coincided. The colony, like our own colonies, was of necessity less exclusive than the mother state. In later times the oligarchs were regarded as the wealthy rather than as 'the good;' and in some instances, probably when their own numbers were failing, they admitted to their ranks other wealthy persons, who became united to them in the brotherhood of arms. But it is not likely that a property qualification was originally the basis of an ancient state.

The idea which more than any other is present to the mind of Aristotle in this part of the Politics is the relativeness of government. We do not seek always for the best, or even for the best under the circumstances. We must think of the average man and the average conditions, and sometimes acquiesce in a very bad form, because no other can be carried out in practice. Therefore the statesman must know not only what are the leading kinds, but also the subdivisions of them, and how they are created. They are apt to run into one another. And many states may be administered in a spirit opposed to their constitution. They may be nominally oligarchies or democracies; but the democracies may be governed oligarchically, or the oligarchies democratically.

Underlying all this part of the treatise, there is a latent antagonism to Plato. For Plato has four forms of government only; he has omitted the single true one. Aristotle maintains that there are different sorts of oligarchies and democracies; by Plato one form of each is recognized and no other.

c. 11. [Enough of forms of government.] We have now arrived at the question, What is the best state and the best life for men in general? Most of the so-called aristocracies assume a standard of virtue which is too high; others hardly differ from the constitutional government, and therefore need no separate discussion.

[In all these forms we are seeking for the mean.] Virtue was said in the Ethics to be a mean, and the same principles apply both to states and to individuals. Happy is the state which is ruled neither by the very rich who are reared in luxury, nor by the very poor who are too degraded, but by the middle class who are equal and similar. The rich know not how to obey, nor the poor how to rule; and thus arises a city of masters and slaves; the slave envying his master and the master despising his slave. But the middle class are to be trusted. They do not covet other men's goods and nobody covets theirs; they neither plot nor are plotted against; and therefore they are the very best material of the state. And where they outnumber one or both the other classes, the state will be safe from extremes, and will be free from faction. Large cities are more populous than small ones, and are therefore safer, because they rest upon the basis of a large middle class; and for the same reason democracies are safer than oligarchies. But in democracies and oligarchies the middle class is often small, and where rich and poor are in naked antagonism the balance is destroyed. [This appears to be in partial contradiction with what has preceded, or at least to be ill expressed.] Whichever wins, sets up an oligarchy or democracy, as the Athenians and the Lacedaemonians did in the days of old, regarding only their own advantage and not that of Hellas. The middle state is the best, and of other states that is the best which is nearest to the middle state. Yet one man only of all who ever ruled in Hellas thought of establishing this middle constitution.

c. 12. There arises another question: to what peoples are different forms of government suited? We may begin by assuming as a general principle common to all governments that the desire of permanence should be stronger than the love of change. Now in every state there is a qualitative and a quantitative element. Under quality is to be included freedom, wealth, education, birth; under quantity superiority of numbers. And there must be a comparison or balance of the two. Where the poor exceed in numbers more than the rich in quality, there will naturally be a democracy; where the rich exceed in quality more than they fall short in quantity, there will naturally be an oligarchy. And therefore in every state

the middle class should be included by the legislator if he desires to avoid extremes and to have a stable government. The rich and the poor cannot trust one another, but the middle class is the arbiter between them whom both parties are willing to trust. The more perfect the fusion of elements, the more lasting will be the state. Yet even in the better forms of aristocracy [which are akin to polity] the single element of wealth is often allowed to predominate; and a foolish attempt is made to overreach the people by various devices. Out of the false good there arises a true evil; for the rich encroach, and their encroachments are ever more fatal than the excesses of the people.

c. 13. Oligarchies and democracies have their devices and counter-devices: the devices of oligarchies apply 1) to the assembly; 2) to the magistracies; 3) to the law-courts; 4) to the possession of arms; 5) to gymnastic exercises. 1) The assembly is open both to rich and poor, but the rich only are fined for non-attendance, the poor may do as they like. 2) The rich cannot refuse office, but the poor may. 3) They both serve in the law-courts, but the poor are let off easily, or the fine inflicted upon them is smaller; and in some states the poor do not register themselves that they may be exempt from public duties and not incur a fine. 4, 5) The rich are obliged to have arms and to attend the gymnasium, but the poor are not obliged. In democracies there are counter-devices: The poor are paid for attending the law-courts and the assembly, and the rich incur no penalty if they are absent. He who would duly mix the two principles should both pay the poor for attendance and fine the rich for non-attendance. In a well-balanced state the government should be confined to the heavy-armed soldiers, and the qualification imposed should be such that the number of the citizens may just exceed the number of those who are excluded. ('But where are the poor to find a place?' They will not complain if they are kindly treated. Nor are they unwilling to fight when they are well fed. But how to secure gentle treatment for them is a problem; for the rich are not always humane.) [And so this government of the middle class naturally took the place of the oligarchy.] After the overthrow of the kings, the warriors became the ruling class, and their arm

of war was cavalry; for without discipline infantry are useless, and there was no art of war in ancient times. But afterwards, when the art of war had been invented and the heavy-armed increased in strength, the middle-class had a larger share in the government.

c. 14. Once more let us renew the whole discussion in due order, now that we have gained a sound basis. In all states there are three elements: 1) the deliberative, 2) the executive, 3) the judicial; these three take different forms in different constitutions. In democracies all things are decided by all, but there are various ways in which the democratic principle may be carried out. *a*) The citizens may deliberate in the assembly, but by turns; and the boards of magistrates may come into office by turns until every citizen has held office, while the body of the people meet only to hear edicts and to pass laws. *b*, *c*) In another form of democracy the citizens all meet, but only to elect magistrates, to pass laws, to decide about peace and war, and to make scrutinies. The ordinary administration is entrusted to the magistrates, who are elected either by vote or by lot. [This form of democracy is given under two heads, but the second appears only to be a repetition of the first.] Or again, *d*) the whole power of the executive is in the hands of the assembly, and the magistrates only prepare the business for them:—this is the last and worst form of democracy. In oligarchies some deliberate about all things. If *a*) the ruling class are a numerous body, having a moderate qualification attainable by any one, and they observe law, there arises a form of oligarchy which inclines to a polity. But *b*) when only selected persons have the power of deliberation, although they still observe the law, the state is a pure oligarchy; and is of necessity oligarchical when *c*) the government is hereditary or co-optative. On the other hand, *d*) when the whole people decide the most important questions, but the executive is in the hands of the magistrates who are elected by lot or by vote, there the constitution is an aristocracy or polity. And *e*) when the magistrates are partly elected by vote and partly by lot, [the whole people having still to decide about peace and war and retaining the power of scrutiny,] then the government is partly aristocratical and partly constitutional.

As an oligarchy should have some democratical, so a demo-

cracy should have some oligarchical elements; the rich should be compelled to attend the courts of law. The deliberative body should be chosen by vote or by lot in equal numbers out of different classes; and pay should be given only to so many of the people as will balance the notables. In oligarchies, on the other hand, the people should share to a certain extent, but only vote after a previous deliberation of select persons, who should also retain in their hands the final decision.

c. 15. About the executive many questions arise. 1) What is an office? 2) How many shall there be? 3) How long shall they last? 4) How shall the holders of them be appointed? The question 1) What is an office?—is partly verbal; those offices have the best right to the name which are concerned with deliberating, superintending, judging, commanding, especially the last. Much more important is the second question, 2) how many shall there be? To which we reply that in larger states they should be numerous and special,—that in small states there are not many persons qualified to take them, and therefore one man may hold several, for they will not interfere with one another. We must ascertain what offices are necessary or useful, and then see which of them can be combined. Some other points have to be determined: When should authority be localized and when centralized? Should offices be arranged according to subjects or according to the persons with whom they deal? Should they be the same under different constitutions? Some offices, like that of counsellor, are clearly democratic; others, like that of censor of boys or women, aristocratical; others, like that of probuli, oligarchical. [Question 3), relating to the term of office, appears to be forgotten.] As to question 4) How shall officers of state be appointed? three cases arise. *a*) Who shall elect the magistrates? *b*) Out of whom shall they be elected? and *c*) In what manner? The answer to any of these three questions may take three forms, and each of these three forms admits of four variations, twelve in all, besides two further combinations. The result may be summed up as follows: All or some, or all and some, elect out of all or some, or out of all and some, by vote or by lot; or partly out of some and partly out of all, and partly by vote and partly by lot. In extreme democracies the choice is made by all out of all; in

extreme oligarchies by some out of some, both admitting of certain imitations or extensions which bring them nearer respectively to aristocracy or constitutional government.

Three similar questions arise about courts of law. 1) How c. 16. many are the kinds of law-courts? 2) Out of whom are the judges to be appointed? And 3) in what manner? 1) There are eight law-courts: *a*) a court of audits; *b*) a court for the trial of [ordinary] offences against the state; *c*) for the trial of treason; *d*) of disputes respecting penalties; *e*) of important civil suits; *f*) of murder and homicide; *g*) of disputes with and among strangers; *h*) of minor suits. Of these courts the most important is that which tries political cases. [Of political cases he proposes to speak, but at once drops them and returns to his former subject.] 2) Judges may be appointed either wholly or partly out of all or out of some. 3) They may be appointed by vote or by lot, or by a combination of the two. When the judges are chosen from all and deal with all cases, the court is democratical; when from a few only, oligarchical; when mixed, aristocratical and constitutional.

Two or three more remarks are suggested by the study of this book. We may note 1) the real enthusiasm with which Aristotle speaks of the middle class, and of the constitution which is based upon it: no other government is equally praised by him. It seemed to him, not like the Republic of Plato to be out of the reach of human nature, but well adapted to a Greek state which was unwilling to be at the mercy of every invader and to be the true remedy for the evils of Hellas. Of the invidious connotation attaching in modern times to the term 'middle class,' which has been equally obnoxious to those above and those below them, there is no trace in Aristotle. 2) When he speaks of the middle class as in a mean between the rich and the poor, he hardly seems to recognize that the rich are included in the middle class: he probably intended to say that the power of the oligarchy would be merged or lost in the larger body to whom the government was entrusted: but it might also be argued that the rich and the middle class together would be too much for the poor, and would unite in oppressing them. The spirit of Aristotle's 'polity' is more truly expressed in the state-

ment that the heavy-armed citizens should at least exceed in number the rest of the city. But the idea is not worked out; it is impossible to conceive a state in which the very poor and the very rich are alike excluded. Some other characteristics of polity are introduced in c. 14. § 10, for the first time. But there is nowhere any clear statement of the relation in which the πολιτεία and the μέση πολιτεία stand to one another. The middle class and constitutional government are elsewhere spoken of separately; in this passage only they are combined. The different ways in which Aristocracy and Polity are explained in different passages, the obscurity in which they are involved, and the manner in which they slide into one another, are worthy of remark.

3) The absence of illustrations from Greek history in this part of the work is striking, nor are we able to supply them for ourselves. The reason is that the different forms of government described by Aristotle, with the exception of tyranny and extreme democracy, do not correspond with known facts; and though implying a general notion of Greek history, there is no sufficient evidence to show whether they are or are not the result of historical research. The numerous divisions and subdivisions of the modes of appointment to offices are enough to prove that many of the distinctions of Aristotle are purely logical, and are not drawn from the history of Hellas.

4) Thus far there is no reference to contemporary history, nor any distinct allusion to the great historians of Hellas, any more than there is a trace of their phraseology. Neither is there reason to think that the revolution effected by Philip and Alexander had any influence upon the speculations of Aristotle. He lives in the world of political philosophy, which in his view, however surprising the fact may be to us, hardly appears to stand in any relation to the facts which were passing before his eyes.

THE fifth is the most valuable and interesting of all the books of the Politics. It embraces a wide field. It contains a picture of Greek political life; it is a 'bazaar' of states and governments. But it is defective in order and arrangement. It draws illustrations indiscriminately from all parts of Hellas, and from all times of Greek

history. The period before the Persian War, and the age of Epaminondas and of Philip, alike furnish examples of political philosophy, which are placed side by side in successive sentences. To us these examples stand in no relation to the course of history, and therefore we are unable to make use of them. Still they have an interest, not only as a picture of Hellenic life, but as showing that the political philosophy of Aristotle, if partly resting on divisions of logic (see above), was also based on historical facts.

We shall hereafter discuss in an Essay which will be found in the second volume the value of Aristotle as an historian, and shall endeavour to show that his greatness was not less, but of a different kind from that which has generally been attributed to him. He saw far and wide; he had cast his eyes over Hellas from Cyrene to Miletus and Rhodes; from Massalia to Chios; from Sybaris and Syracuse to Apollonia and Heraclea on the Pontus; from Crete to Amphipolis. Over the whole Hellenic world and to some extent into the barbarous regions beyond his inquisitive spirit had penetrated. We know not whence his information was obtained; whether from Peripli or other geographical works of writers such as Scylax and Hecataeus; or whether an oral tradition of Greek history was collected and taught in the Peripatetic School. He lived in a hearing and not in a reading age, and therefore much of his information must have come from merchants and travellers, or may have been collected in places to which he himself had travelled. But he hardly anywhere indicates his sources, and it would be vain for us to try and discover them.

BOOK V.

The motives, objects, and occasions of revolutions: they begin in small matters, but are concerned with great: they are accomplished by force or fraud: revolutions in democracies: in oligarchies: in aristocracies and mixed governments: how to avoid them: how tyrannies and monarchies may be preserved: the beneficent despot: short duration of tyrannies: a word about Plato's cycle.

Our design is now nearly completed. We have only to speak of c. 1.
the causes of revolution in states,—out of what and into what they

c. 1. mostly change,—what are the conservative, what are the destructive elements.

In all governments there is a recognition of justice and equality; but they often fail in the attainment of them. Democracy is based on the equality of equals, oligarchy upon the inequality of unequals. The democrat argues that those who are equal in one respect (freedom) should be equal in all; the oligarch that those who are unequal in one respect (wealth) should be unequal in all. Both these forms of government have a kind of justice, but it is a relative and imperfect one; and therefore either of the two parties in the state, when dissatisfied, stirs up revolution. (The virtuous, from whom the nobility claim descent, have the best right to rebel—for they are in a position of far greater inequality; but they are not inclined.) And thus revolution arises, taking two forms, 1) changes in the government, and 2) changes in the persons who administer the government. The change in either case may be one of degree, or of a part only, and the revolution may be only directed against some office or institution; as at Sparta, when Lysander attempted to overthrow the monarchy, and at Epidamnus, where a council was appointed to supersede the heads of tribes.

I should explain that equality is of two kinds, 1) numerical, and 2) proportionate,—sameness of number and size, and sameness of ratios. Democracy answers to the first, oligarchy to the second. Although there may be other differences, these are the principal; for virtue and good birth are comparatively rare, but the opposition of wealth and numbers exists everywhere. Both kinds of equality are bad and come to a bad end if taken alone; they should therefore be combined; and the equality should be partly numerical, and partly proportionate.

Still the less dangerous form of government is democracy: oligarchy is threatened both from within and from without; democracy only from without, for the people rarely, if ever, quarrel among themselves. Also democracy is akin to a government of the middle class, which is the safest of all the imperfect forms of government.

The equality of mankind is an idea of the greatest power and efficacy. It begins with the beginnings of abstract thought; it is the expression of a natural sentiment: it has long been made in all civilized countries the foundation of ethics and of civil rights:—Men, as we say, are equal in the sight of God and in the eye of the law. To this also the world seems to be tending in politics: it is the ideal of the future that all men may be equal in political powers and privileges, and equally fitted to exercise them. Nor would Aristotle have dissented from this latter view if the saving clause were added, and equality in political power were accompanied by equality of personal fitness. And several times in the history of the world, in the Middle Ages as well as at the Reformation and the French Revolution, premature attempts have been made to grasp at this equality and to anticipate what in future ages may prove to be the course of history. The philosopher advises caution: he tells us that mankind never 'are,' or have been, but always 'are to be,' upon an equality; and that equal rights and privileges imply equal education and equal capacities. He warns us against the confusion and perhaps destruction which an idea at present so impracticable and so incapable of being confined by law as equality among unequals may bring upon the world. He tells us that equality if for a moment attained will speedily be lost, or rather is always in a process of being demanded and being refused.

To the Greek mind the idea of equality had a sort of arithmetical necessity derived from the Pythagorean philosophy. Not that the Greek thought of applying the argument from numbers ('every man to count for one and no man for more than one') to slaves or barbarians. It was the equality of peers, ἴσοι καὶ ὅμοιοι, which he pre-supposed whether they included the people or a select class only. Yet no doubt the Pythagorean idea of equality, though derived from an aristocratical society or school, gave a great impulse to the conception of democracy in Hellas. Aristotle, like the modern philosopher, is aware of the dangerous character of this formula when applied indiscriminately to all stages of society and to all sorts of men. He is aware too that democracy can no longer be resisted, and that equality among unequals had

become the prevailing principle of Greek politics. But he would add, as far as he can, checks and limitations. The arithmetical symbol which he opposes to equality is proportion; the citizen is to have power or to have the franchise in proportion to his wealth, education, and capacity. The distinction between mere numerical and proportionate equality is analogous to the geometrical and arithmetical ratios upon which justice is based in the Nicomachean Ethics. Such arithmetical or geometrical expression gave men a formula for aristocracy as well as democracy, which was a 'most gracious aid' to their conception of a higher notion of the state. Ideas must be given through something, and if we may parody Aristotle's own language there are two things which mankind require, true thoughts, and true expressions; and the one cannot exist without the other.

c. 2. In order to ascertain, Whence revolutions arise?—we must consider 1) the tempers of those who make them; 2) the motives from which they are made; 3) the causes and occasions of them. [It is difficult to distinguish the first from the second, or the second from the third of these general causes or kinds of causes. They do not exactly correspond to internal and external, which would have been an intelligible division. Indeed Aristotle himself implies, *infra* § 5, that the second is not distinguishable from the third.] 1) They are made by equals who desire, or by unequals who disdain equality. 2) The motives from which they are made are gain and honour, or the avoidance of loss and dishonour. 3) The causes of them are altogether eleven in number: *a*) love of gain; *b*) love of honour—both have been already noted; they are here explained to mean indignation at the undeserved gain and honour of other men; *c*) insolence; *d*) fear; *e*) the love of superiority; *f*) contempt; *g*) unequal increase of a part; also *h*) election intrigues; *i*) carelessness; *k*) neglect of trifles; *l*) disparity of elements. [The order is not exactly preserved in the description which follows.]

c. 3. *a*) Insolence and *b*) avarice induce the magistrates to conspire against one another and the state; *c*) disregard of merit in the distribution of honours is another cause of revolution; *d*) the con-

sciousness of superiority in some person or persons leads to an outbreak which ends in the triumph of an individual or of a family; *e*) fear of wrong or punishment is another cause; *f*) contempt is a cause; *g*) revolutions also arise out of disproportion in any part of a state, e. g. in an oligarchy when the rich are reduced in numbers by a great defeat, as at Argos after the battle of Hebdome, or in a democracy when their wealth and numbers become excessive; or *h*) they are due to election intrigues; or *i*) to carelessness which has allowed traitors to find their way into the highest offices; or *k*) they may be caused by the neglect of an apparently small matter such as the qualification for office; or *l*) may arise out of disparity of elements, as *aa*) when different races meet in new colonies, like the Achaeans and Troezenians at Sybaris, or the Sybarites and their fellow colonists at Thurii; or again *bb*) disunion is produced by separation of place, as at Colophon and Notium, or as at Athens and the Peiraeus. There are also *cc*) oppositions of virtue and vice, which are the greatest of all, and next to them in importance is the antagonism of poverty and wealth; and there are others, e. g. the difference of place.

Trifles may be the occasions of revolutions, but they are not the c. 4. true causes of them. Trifles are most important when they concern the rulers; we should be especially on our guard against the beginnings of strife among great men, for they quickly involve the whole state. 'Well begun is half done,' says the proverb; and to an error at the beginning may be attributed half of all the evils which follow. A quarrel about a love affair at Syracuse, about an inheritance at Hestiaea, about marriages at Delphi and Epidamnus, about heiresses at Mitylene, about an heiress in Phocis, were the causes of revolution and ruin in those states.

Sometimes the magistrates or some part of the state increase in power by the credit which they gain for their services. The noble conduct of the Areopagus in the Persian War strengthened the oligarchy, the victory of Salamis which was gained by the common people, the democracy. At Argos the notables, having distinguished themselves at the battle of Mantinea, tried to overthrow the democracy; at Syracuse the people, after the defeat of the Athenians, overturned the constitutional government. From similar

causes revolutions occurred at Chalcis and Ambracia. And generally any one who has done great service to the state is very likely to cause revolution; for either he is ambitious himself, or others are drawn into rebellion by envy of his greatness. When one of two parties is a minority like the good (who are always a minority), there is a disposition to submit; but when the two are nearly balanced, then revolutions break out. They are accomplished either by force or by fraud—force practised either at the time or afterwards—fraud which is often succeeded by force (as in the case of the Four Hundred at Athens), or continued and repeated.

'Behold how great a matter a little fire kindleth!' And so we sometimes speak metaphorically of a match applied to a powder magazine, or we are inclined to think that there was a sleeping volcano which would have awakened and come to the surface at some other time, if not when it burst forth through an accident. These are figures of speech which from time to time we apply to the states of Europe. The history of nations is supposed to have a majestic onward march whether favoured by accident or not. For example, in the French Revolution democracy is believed to have gathered irresistible force from the corruption of the court, from the oppression of the *grands seigneurs*, from the omnipresent tyranny of the bureaucracy, and at last to have broken its bonds and to have swept over the continent of Europe. Philosophy was in the air and seemed for the moment to inspire the poor creatures who were crawling upon the earth. But the genius of a great soldier and statesman turned back the flood which looked so giant-like and made it return to its underground channels.

It is a curious enquiry, how far small occasions have contributed to great events. When we analyze them, it is difficult to distinguish the small from the great. The birth or death of a royal infant, the unskilfulness of a physician, the fancy of a king's mistress, the arrow shot at a venture in the wars of the Jews, the chance ball striking down a great commander, the mole-hill which caused a king's horse to stumble ('the little gentleman in velvet'), the spilling of a drop or two of water on Mrs. Masham's gown, the

dishonesty of a maker of arms, a runaway carriage, a minute too late on the field of battle,—these and similar accidents have overthrown dynasties and changed the governments of countries. Aristotle seems to be thinking of the inadvertencies or carelessnesses of politics or of war, such as the slight matter of the qualification at Ambracia or the impediment of a ditch however small in a battle, but more especially of private occasions which have public or national consequences. Insults to the honour or to the person of individuals, quarrels about marriages and betrothals, a dispute about an heiress, or a mistress,—causes such as these have often whetted the dagger of the conspirator, or have stirred up a party in the state.

The trifles will be generally such as affect distinguished persons. But it is impossible to draw a line between the trifling occasions of great events and the real causes of them. Was the hurling of the stool by Jeannie Geddes at the head of the clergyman when reading the liturgy in St. Giles', Edinburgh, a real cause of the overthrow of Episcopalianism in Scotland, or only the trifle which was the occasion of it? Must it not rather be regarded as a symptom of the temper which pervaded the whole country? There is doubtless an element of accident in human affairs; that is to say, there are small events of which the causes are absolutely unknown to us. And these small events, affecting as they may do the lives of persons on whom the world seems to depend, or occurring in a great conflict or at some other critical moment of history, may have an effect, going far to upset what we are pleased to term the philosophy of history.

§ 5. Revolutions in democracies are generally caused by the arts of wicked demagogues who wrong the notables in various ways; either they inform against them that they may confiscate their wealth, or they diminish their income by the services which they impose upon them, or they drive them into exile; but, after a while, the notables in self-defence combine and conspire; or the exiles come back in a body and overthrow the democracy, as at Cos, Rhodes, Heraclea, Megara, Cyme, and other places. Anciently democracies changed into tyrannies; either the tyrant had been

a great magistrate, or he was a demagogue; but, unlike our present demagogues, he was a general, not an orator; and if he had any military talent and could persuade the multitude that he sincerely hated the rich, he easily gained over the scattered rustic population and usurped the government. Our modern democrats do not attempt *coups d'état*, because they are not soldiers. Democracies also change from a more moderate to an extreme form. For the representatives of the multitude when they have been elected, in return set the people above the laws.

c. 6. Revolutions in oligarchies arise 1) outside the governing class: either *a*) the oligarchs are oppressive, and then the people take anybody for a leader, especially if he be a member of the oligarchy, as at Naxos; or *b*) they are exclusive; and then i) the notables who are excluded make a rebellion and force their way into the government, as at Massalia and elsewhere; or ii) at a time when the ruling class is attacked by the rest of the notables the people strike in and establish a democracy, as at Cnidos; or iii) although the state is well managed, the people take offence at the narrowness of the government and bring about a revolution, as at Erythrae. Or 2) within the governing body; from the personal rivalry of the oligarchical leaders who either *a*) intrigue against the other oligarchs, like Charicles in the Thirty and Phrynichus in the Four Hundred at Athens, or *b*) some of their members turn demagogues and appeal to the people. This is a result which commonly occurs either i) when the oligarchical leaders are magistrates elected by the people and are therefore under their control, no matter what be the qualification for office, and even though they are supported by a political club; or ii) when the law-courts are independent of the government; or iii) when an attempt is made to narrow the oligarchy; or iv) when the oligarchs are extravagant in their way of living, for then they want to innovate, and sometimes they rob the treasury and afterwards fall out either among themselves or with the rest of their party. But an oligarchy is seldom overthrown when it is at unity with itself. But when there is a state within a state it is otherwise; in time of war, because the government is obliged to call in mercenaries, and the general who is in command of them often

ends in becoming a tyrant, as Timophanes did at Corinth; and in time of peace, the two parties, from their mutual distrust, are likely enough to hand over the defence of the state to the general of an army, who in the end becomes the master of both, as at Larissa and Abydos. Love-quarrels and law-suits also lead to revolutions in states. Many oligarchies have been destroyed because they have become intolerable to some members of the ruling class, as at Cnidos and Chios. Both constitutional governments and oligarchies may be changed by an accidental lowering of the qualification.

We may remark generally, both of democracies and oligarchies, that they do not always change into their opposites, but sometimes only into another variety of the same class.

c. 7. Aristocracies are a kind of oligarchies, and are often confounded with them. They are both the government of a few; but the few in an oligarchy are the wealthy, in an aristocracy the virtuous. The revolutions which arise in aristocracies, as in oligarchies, are caused by their exclusiveness, and by the diminution of their numbers. When a section of the people, like the Partheniae at Sparta, or when individuals, like Lysander, fancy themselves dishonoured; or, like Cinadon, are excluded from the government; when a great man, like Pausanias, wants to be greater; or when there is an extreme inequality of classes,—a state of society generally created by war,—then revolutions are likely to arise.

Both constitutional government and aristocracies are overthrown when the two elements of democracy and oligarchy, or the three elements, democracy, oligarchy, and virtue, are ill-combined. Constitutional governments are safer than aristocracies because they rest upon a broader basis. The rich in an aristocracy are often insolent and greedy, and the government has a natural tendency to oligarchy. But it may also pass into a democracy or into a constitutional government, or a constitutional government may change into an oligarchy. Thus at Thurii, where the qualification for office was at one time high, the notables acquired the whole of the land. But a reaction speedily set in; the qualification was lowered, and the people who carried arms quickly resumed possession of the land which had been taken. In Lacedaemon, too, the land has passed

into the hands of a few rich men, and they are able to do much what they like.

Trifles, as I have already remarked, often lead to great changes. Thus the government at Thurii became a family oligarchy after the repeal of the law which forbad their generals to hold perpetual commands. The magistrates yielded to the youth of the city, thinking that no further change would ensue: but a revolution followed and the state passed into the hands of a dynastic oligarchy. And besides these changes from within, there may be compulsion from without, such as the Athenians of old exercised towards the oligarchies and the Lacedaemonians towards the democracies.

The balance of classes or of parties has been hitherto deemed to be the best or only mode of regulating the internal affairs of a state. Yet a government constructed on such a principle is attended by many drawbacks; there is a waste of the governing power. The principle of 'a balance,' which in our own age is beginning to be discredited both in home and foreign politics, was a favourite doctrine of ancient philosophers. To Aristotle it was a leading idea that one political party or institution must be checked by another. He does not remark that whatever makeweight is thrown into the scale against either party is so much deducted from the whole power of the state. If we suppose the two parties to be in diametrical opposition, then it is only the surplus of them, possibly a small fraction, which represents the national will. These checks or balances directly affect the strength and consistency of the state. In the Spartan and Roman constitutions they were carried to the greatest extent. The Ephors are regarded by Aristotle as providing a security against the encroachments of the Spartan kings, and therefore as rendering the power of the king himself more permanent. The double kingship is supposed by him to have a similar effect. But we remember how in the Peloponnesian War the policy of Sparta alternates from year to year as the Ephors change, or the king or the Ephor is in the ascendant; and how weakening to the state were the quarrels of the two kings with one another. In modern times we perceive such oppositions of party or of powers in a state to be due not to

the wisdom of our legislators, but to the natural growth of institutions. We try, seemingly in vain, to bring them to an understanding with each other, *ne quid detrimenti respublica capiat;* and at any rate to preserve the unity of the Executive. They may be necessary, but whether necessary or not, we find that they tend to diminish our national vigour, and to impair our reputation in dealing with foreign countries. There are some who would argue on the other side that the antagonism of parties is not so absolute as has been supposed; that they often act as a stimulus to one another, and therefore, instead of impeding, quicken progress; that they are a necessary consequence of political activity; and that as there are differences of character, there must also be differences of opinion among men. They certainly give a distinct form to opposing forces, instead of dissipating them in personality; and in critical times there may arise mediators or benefactors among them, and, like the Greeks in the Persian War, they may forget their quarrels and vie with one another in the service of their country. Aristotle notices a phenomenon which may be observed in modern as well as in ancient politics: the representation of one class by another. He thinks that an oligarchy is doomed to fall when the members of a governing body are elected by the whole people, for they will always be at the mercy of those who elect them. So in some of the countries of modern Europe a great change is being silently wrought, not by the physical force of the people, but by the wealthy who are their representatives and do their bidding. 'The poor have not the leisure to go to the Assembly;' and therefore they elect some member of the higher or richer classes to assert their rights, who expresses partly his own opinions and partly theirs; or his own opinions in private and theirs in public.

c. 8. Having now explained the chief causes of revolutions in states, we have next to consider the means of preserving them.

The knowledge of opposites is one and the same; if we know the causes which destroy states, we shall also know the causes which preserve them. We must in the first place maintain the authority of the law and not be careless about little things, for the

whole is made up of them (as the saying is, 'Many a mickle makes a muckle'); neither must we rely upon arts and devices. Evils creep in unperceived, and we must watch the beginnings of them; or they will increase and overwhelm the state. Even an oligarchy, though inherently weak, may be long preserved if the ruling class are just and considerate to one another and to their fellow citizens, and are willing to receive into their own body any who are deserving of honour. As in a democracy, so in an oligarchy there must be equality; for equals in rank where they are numerous are a kind of democracy, and demagogues are very likely to arise in both. And many of the safeguards of democracy are equally useful in an oligarchy. One of these safeguards is the short tenure of office; the magistrate whose term lasts only for six months will not be able to usurp.

Another cause of the preservation of states is the fear of an enemy near at hand, which may often unite and waken up the citizens. The cautious ruler will seek to create salutary terrors in the minds of the people: he will also endeavour to restrain the quarrels of the notables. He will need the gift of foresight if he aspires to the character of a statesman.

The census should be periodically revised and the qualification raised or lowered as the value of property increases or diminishes. It is better to give moderate honour to a citizen for a long time than great honour for a short time. But when once given it should not be suddenly withdrawn. The magistrates should have an eye to the lives of the citizens, and should bring them into harmony with the constitution of the state. The growth of prosperity and power in any one person or part of the state should be carefully watched. Rich and poor should be combined in one body, and the middle class increased. Above all, the magistrates should not be allowed to make money from their offices; nothing is so provoking to the common people as corruption of this kind.

Democracy and aristocracy might come to an understanding if offices brought no profit; for then the rich and the poor would both obtain their desires; the poor would not wish to hold them; —they would rather attend to their own business;—and the rich, who do not want money, would take them. The public accounts

should be regularly audited at a general assembly of the citizens, and duplicates of them put up in the tribes and demes. Honest magistrates should be rewarded. In an oligarchy the poor should be well treated, and in a democracy the rich should not be required or allowed to waste their money upon useless liturgies; their income should be protected as well as their property. Estates should pass by inheritance, and no person should have more than one. The poor should be allowed to share in all the lesser offices of state, and a member of the aristocracy should be more severely punished for insulting them than for insulting one of his own class.

[If we proceed to ask, How far the character of chief magistrates b. 9. is preservative of a constitution, it may be answered that], Three qualifications are required in them: 1) loyalty, 2) administrative capacity, 3) virtue of a kind suited to the constitution. But when all these qualities do not meet in the same person, which is better,—a virtuous and dull man, or a vicious and clever one? We reply,—different qualities are required in different offices; honesty is the first qualification of a steward, military skill of a general; and we must consider what qualities are rare and what are common; military skill, for example, is less common than honesty. But will a statesman who is loyal and patriotic have any need of virtue? Yes, surely; for without self-control he will be incapable of managing either his own affairs or the affairs of the public.

Among the preservatives of states may be mentioned laws which are for the interest of the state; and the great preserving principle of all is that the loyal citizens should outnumber the disloyal. The mean which is often lost sight of in the extremes of party violence, should also be regarded. Some disproportion, as in the human body, may be pardonable; but great excess in limb or feature is the caricature and destruction of either. He who pushes the principle either of democracy or of oligarchy to an extreme, will begin by spoiling the government, and will end by having none at all. Neither oligarchy nor democracy can exist unless a place is found in them for both rich and poor. They are equally in fault, and their feelings towards one another are the reverse of what they should be; for the oligarchs should maintain the cause of the poor, the democrats of the rich; whereas the demagogues are

always cutting the city in two by their quarrels with the rich, and the oligarchs even take an oath that they will do the people all the harm which they can.

The great preservative of all is education; but it must be adapted to the constitution: when properly educated the people will become neither violent oligarchs nor democrats, but good citizens under either form of government. For the true oligarch or democrat is not he who does the most oligarchical or democratic actions, but he who provides best for the continuance of oligarchy or democracy. Among ourselves the ruling class are reared in luxury, while the children of the poor are hardened by labour, and therefore more than a match for the rich in time of revolution. On the other hand, in extreme democracies there is a false idea of freedom: men think only of the supremacy of the people, which means that they may do as they like; this is contradictory to the true interests of the state. They do not understand that obedience to law is the salvation of states.

The two leading forms of government, democracy and oligarchy —for, in Hellenic politics, monarchy, aristocracy, timocracy, need hardly be considered—are both regarded by Aristotle as good enough when well administered. But they must live and let live: the oligarch must find a place for the poor; the democrat must leave room for the rich. The sense of patriotism should prevent them from disorganizing the state by their quarrels; the sense of justice should leave them in the possession of their respective properties. They should both avoid extremes; for he is not the best democrat who is most of a democrat, or the best oligarch who is most of an oligarch. But that is the best form, whether of democracy or oligarchy, which is the most lasting. The true test of governments is their permanence. Although the tendency of Greek history was setting in towards democracy, yet oligarchies were still existing, and Aristotle seems to have thought that, if there were humanity, public spirit, and consideration towards the lower classes, they might continue to exist. The people should spare the rich, and not impose unequal taxes or burdensome duties upon them: the poor should be treated kindly, and the wrong done to them by

a person of breeding or education should be regarded as more discreditable than a similar offence against one of his own class. There is a fine spirit of courtesy in this last regulation. Measures should be taken to prevent the accumulation of inheritances, lest the poor should always be growing poorer, and the rich richer; and the poor should receive a preference in the lesser offices of state.

c. 10. Next come the two forms of monarchy,—royalty and tyranny; the first, like aristocracy, based upon merit, the second a compound of democracy and oligarchy in their worst form. The two differ in their very origin; for kings were the benefactors of their people, but tyrants were usually demagogues who gained the favour of the demos by their accusations of the notables; or they were the presidents of oligarchies; or, in the old times, kings or great magistrates who usurped despotic power. A king is appointed by the better class to protect them against the people; the tyrant is the favourite of the people who takes their part against the notables. The king benefits all classes; the tyrant no one but himself; the one desires honour, the other pleasure and gain; the one is guarded by the citizens, the other by mercenaries. The tyrant combines all the vices of democracy and oligarchy; he robs and suspects the people, he oppresses and exiles the notables, 'he cuts off the tallest ears of corn.'

The motives of revolutions in royalties and tyrannies are similar to the motives of revolutions in other states. The rest of mankind desire the wealth or rank of the king or tyrant; or some one is stirred up to avenge an insult. Sometimes the office of the monarch is attacked, sometimes his life. Insults to the person have been frequently fatal to the sovereign who offered them. Fear and contempt have also been the motives of conspiracies. The probability of success is another motive. Tyrants have been attacked by their familiars who know their weakness; or by generals whom they have trusted with power. The desire of gain is yet another motive; love of glory another. There are a few who, regardless of their own lives, have sought to immortalize themselves by the assassination of a tyrant; they wish to acquire

not a kingdom, but a name. Few, however, are willing to set their life upon such a cast.

Tyrannies are also destroyed, from without, by the hostility of opposite forms of government; from within, by dissension in a ruling family. There are two chief motives which induce men to attack them, hatred and contempt; to these must be added anger, which is all the more ready to strike because it is painful. In a word, all the causes by which the worse forms of oligarchy or democracy are affected, also affect tyranny. Royalty is less liable than tyranny to be overthrown by a revolution; it is generally destroyed from within—either members of the royal family quarrel with one another, or the king himself grows tyrannical. But there are no kings in our own days; no one has a natural superiority, and therefore he who aspires to rule over his fellows becomes a tyrant. Hereditary monarchies run the greatest risk of all, for the king is apt to play the part of a tyrant, forgetting that he has not the power. When the king is not wanted, he is dethroned, but the tyrant maintains himself whether men like him or not.

c. 11. These are the causes destructive of monarchy; and the preservatives are the opposites to these. Royalty is preserved by the limitation of its powers, as at Lacedaemon by the double kingship and the institution of the Ephoralty; tyranny by the traditional policy of lopping off the tallest shoots, by the prohibition of education, common meals, clubs, meetings for discussion, in short by a policy of suspicion and repression. The tyrant must take every means of keeping the people under; he must know what they are doing; he must employ spies and eaves-droppers; he must sow quarrels and dissensions among them. He should engage them in great public works, like the Pyramids of Egypt or the temple of Olympian Zeus at Athens, and should multiply taxes after the manner of Dionysius of Syracuse; he should keep his subjects busy and poor, and make them pay for his guards; he should stir up war that they may need his services as a general. He cannot, like a king, trust his friends; for he knows that the hand of every man is against him, and they have him in their power. Tyranny, like the extreme form of democracy, gives influence to

women and licence to slaves, in the hope that they may inform against their husbands and masters; hence both women and slaves are partial to tyrannies and democracies because they have a good time under them. Like the people, the tyrant loves flatterers, who are bad themselves and are used for bad purposes. Independent spirits are distasteful to him; and he prefers foreigners to citizens. There is nothing too bad for him. In short, he has three principal aims:—1) to sow distrust among his subjects, 2) to deprive them of power, 3) to humble them. Good men cannot be made his tools; and therefore he is their enemy.

But tyranny may also be preserved by an entirely opposite method. Although the tyrant must in self-defence keep his power, yet he may use it like a constitutional monarch. He ought to be a model of virtue and economy, not squandering on courtesans and artists the public revenues, but using them in the service of the state, as if he were the trustee and not the owner of them. This will be far wiser than to keep a hoard which there will be no one to guard when he is away from home. He should inspire reverence rather than fear; whatever vices he may privately practise, he should be dignified in public, and maintain the character of a ruler. He should avoid immodesty or sensuality, or at any rate he should not parade them in the face of the world. He should adorn and improve the city; he should be religious, that he may be thought a good man and a friend of the gods—men will then be less afraid of suffering injustice at his hands, and they will be less likely to conspire against him, for they will think that he has the gods fighting on his side; but he should not make himself ridiculous by superstition. He should honour men of merit. Yet neither should he make any one person great, but if one, then more than one; and if he has to take away honour, he should proceed gradually. He should be tender of other men's reputation, kind to the young; his attachments should seem to be inspired by affection, and not by the insolence of power. Assassination is his greatest danger, and he should therefore be careful of insulting or seeming to insult others. 'For,' as Heracleitus says, 'a man will buy revenge with life.'

He will keep the peace between the rich and poor, and will

conciliate to himself the stronger of the two, whichever that may be. He will not then need to emancipate the slaves or to disarm the citizens. He will be moderate and gentle, the friend of the upper classes and the hero of the multitude. His rule will thus be nobler and better, because he will rule over nobler and better men, whom he does not fear, and to whom he is not himself an object of hatred. His power, too, will be more lasting. Let him be virtuous, or at least half-virtuous; and if he be wicked, let him be half-wicked.

Aristotle, proceeding by the method of opposites, contrasts the king and the tyrant, and the modes in which royalty and tyranny are destroyed and preserved. To the Greek the king could hardly appear a reality: of the semi-barbarous Macedonian and Thracian monarchs he had heard at a distance only. But in Hellas properly so called all other kings except the kings of Sparta had disappeared. The tyrant, although he hardly existed except in Sicily between the days of Themistocles and Alexander, was deeply impressed on the mind of Hellas. The traditional portrait of him, exaggerated by the genius of Plato, is preserved in Aristotle; it had come down like the story of the Trojan War, from an unknown antiquity, and had been recently revived by the oppressions of Dionysius and his son.

From the ordinary Greek conception of the tyrant we pass to a better sort of despot, who seems to have not much more reality than the one best man of Book III. We may fancy that Hermias, the tyrant of Atarneus, suggested the thought to Aristotle's mind; but he has scarcely found his way into Greek history, except by his connection with Aristotle.

It is said that there have been two perfect princes only among all who have held sway over the civilized world, the Roman Emperor, Marcus Aurelius, the French King who is also a Catholic Saint, Louis IX;—perhaps together with these two our own Alfred might be ranked. Their lives, though not spent in vain, supply an historical proof that the beneficent ruler is by no means absolute in his power of doing good. It is an observation of Buckle's that the high character and intelligence of several of the

Spanish monarchs in the last century, altogether failed to arrest the degeneracy of the people. The truth is, that although the spirit of a king may sometimes animate his people, a nation is too heavy a load for any man to carry on his shoulders or elevate by the force of his own will.

The other sort of tyrant described by Aristotle is a good way removed from the ideal; like Peisistratus in Thucydides, he professes virtue, but at the same time keeps a firm hand on power. He has learnt the lesson of Machiavelli, that 'there are many virtues which would certainly prove ruinous to kings if they practised them.' He maintains arbitrary power that he may make a good use of it; he sets up authority against the rights of men. He is perhaps the only solution of a great political difficulty. Many questions are stirred about him. They run up into the wider question, What are the moral conditions of political action? And they would probably have received from Aristotle his favourite solution, namely that politics are relative to persons and circumstances.

Plato and Aristotle alike indulge in the fancy of a virtuous tyrant: 'there is no shorter way,' says Plato, 'in which men can be made virtuous than by obedience to a wise and virtuous tyrant.' (Laws, iv. 709.) And Aristotle himself is characteristically willing to believe that like all other forms of government, even a tyranny, if well administered, may be for the advantage of the subjects of it. But the tyrant is to be prudent rather than virtuous. He must keep up appearances and give mankind the good government which they so much want. Such governments may be the only ones possible in certain stages of society; and certainly men would not be justified in overthrowing them, unless they could set up a better in their place. Aristotle would have acknowledged that they depend upon accidents, for, as in the case of the Roman Emperors, many a good father may have a bad son; and modern writers would make the further reflection, that by giving people good government, we take from them the power of governing themselves.

c. 12. Tyrannies and oligarchies are short-lived. The tyrannies which have lasted longest are those of Orthagoras and his sons at Sicyon, which continued for a hundred years, of the Cypselidae at Corinth,

who reigned seventy-three years and six months, and of Peisistratus at Athens, which lasted, not including sixteen years of exile, seventeen years, or adding in the eighteen years which his son reigned, thirty-five years. Their greater duration may be attributed to the personal character of the tyrants. Cypselus was a popular man; his son and successor, Periander, a great soldier: Orthagoras and his family were gentle and careful of their people; his descendant, Cleisthenes, was also a great soldier; the latter is said to have crowned the judge who decided against him at the games, as Peisistratus is recorded to have submitted to the court of the Areopagus. Of other tyrannies, that of Hiero and Gelo has been the most enduring, but their combined reigns only lasted eighteen years.

In the Republic, Socrates gives a fanciful account of the first step in the decline of states. He says that they change according to a certain cycle which depends upon a base of number. When this cycle comes to an end, bad men will be born and education will be neglected. Very likely; but why in the perfect state more than in any other? And why should the perfect state change into the Spartan, or the Spartan into an oligarchy, or an oligarchy into a democracy, or a democracy into a tyranny? Had the cycle been completed, tyranny should have reverted to the perfect state. But the truth is that there is no regular order in the changes of states; both tyrannies and oligarchies may pass into any other form of government, as is proved by numberless facts. And when he says that the decline of the Spartan government is due to covetousness, he should rather have said that it is due to the jealousy which the rich entertain towards the poor. Nor is the tale of two cities in one, peculiar to oligarchy: it might describe any state in which there is great social inequality. The indebtedness of the poor is not the only cause of revolution in oligarchies, but far more the impoverishment of great men. Finally, Plato fails to discriminate the various kinds of revolution which arise out of the various forms of democracies and oligarchies.

Aristotle has a fling at the Platonic number of the state. We may observe that he does not regard this curious symbol as a mere

arithmetical or geometrical puzzle. He only says that such a cause of change would apply equally to all states; and while he treats the number seriously he does not remark that he has omitted two or three steps in the calculation. He makes an assumption in saying that the perfect state degenerates into the Spartan; of this no mention is made by Plato, though some of the characteristics of the timocratic man recall to us the Spartan. His common sense told him that there was no law or order in the succession of states. It could hardly be supposed that tyranny returned to the perfect state. Yet this was the conclusion which logically followed if the cycle was to begin again.

THERE are numerous repetitions in the Sixth Book of the Politics, but there are also a few subjects which are more fully worked out and appear in a clearer light than elsewhere. To these we will confine ourselves in the remarks which follow.

Aristotle's views about Democracy are set forth more in the concrete and less in the abstract. Leaving the general idea, he proceeds to consider the various forms of Democracy which arise out of the complication of the different elements which are combined in them. Democracy is a necessity rather than a good, and therefore the form which is least of a democracy is the least of an evil. The people are nominally to have their rights, but, if possible, they are to be deprived of them; that is to say, they are to be placed under circumstances in which only a few can ever exercise them: what he gives with one hand he takes away with the other. He is far from having any confidence in the people; he devises many expedients in order to minimize their power. They are generally paid, but it would be better if they were not paid, because then they would not have leisure to take part in the government. In the interests of the upper classes, who have to conduct the government, the meetings of the Assembly and of the Law Courts should be few and short. The reflection naturally occurs to the mind, How is all this reconcileable with another dictum of Aristotle's that 'political devices are useless'? Neither is

he consistent with himself; at any rate traces of different views appear in successive chapters.

Two confusions often arise about democracy. First, it is supposed that the form of a democracy which is the most extreme, is the most truly democratic; but this is an error; permanence is the true test whether of democracy or of any other form of government. Secondly, we should observe that in all forms of government there is an element of democracy within the governing body, for the will of the majority must prevail, and there may be persons who play the demagogue in it, or who use the demos in furtherance of some oligarchical design.

Aristotle's favourite notion that the greater offices should be confined to the rich, while admission to the assembly and to the lesser offices is granted to the poor, will be found to be an impossible combination. At least the only way in which we can suppose such an arrangement to be carried out, would be by the great magistrates retaining independent command of the army. But then why should they allow the power of the people to exist at all? They can rarely be brought to think that they and the people have a common interest. In several modern European countries, such as Germany, Russia, or France in the time of the emperors Napoleon I and III, this near connection, or perhaps natural affinity, between the army and the throne has alone rendered the Imperial form of government possible.

To us in England who are always considering the question of parliamentary representation, the doctrine of Aristotle that the right of voting should be extended only so far as will provide a bulwark against democracy, is curious and suggestive. The greater number, though only a little greater, if including the upper and heavy-armed classes, would evidently be many times as strong as the rest of the citizens. Had a form of constitution, like that called by the Greeks timocracy, in which all men voted, but the numbers of the poor were compensated by the wealth of the rich, been adopted by the authors of the American constitution or of the first English Reform Bill, it is possible that such a settlement of the representative question might have driven back the tide of democracy for many generations.

LIBRARY
UNIVERSITY
CALIFORNIA

BOOK VI.

The nature and characteristics of democracy; the better and worse kinds: how democracies may be created and preserved: the various kinds of oligarchies: the organization of offices under different forms of government.

c. 1. We have discussed the various elements of states in their various forms, the supreme or deliberative power, the law-courts, the offices; we have also spoken of the destruction and preservation of states. And now we have to consider in what manner different forms of government are organized, and what various combinations of their parts or elements are possible. [The latter is an unfulfilled promise; cp. iv. 7–9.] I mean, for example, how an oligarchical council may be combined with aristocratical law-courts, and any similar disharmony in the composition of the state. We have also to enquire how the forms of government which are adapted to different states may be established.

First let us describe democracy, of which there are several varieties. These varieties depend upon two causes, 1) differences in the character of the population, which may consist of husbandmen, or of mechanics and labourers, either singly or mingled in various proportions; 2) differences in the combinations of the characteristic features of democracy. All the elements should be studied, but it would be a mistake to suppose that every democratic element should exist in every democracy; there should be an admixture of different elements, and they should be balanced against one another; proportion should be observed.

c. 2. The basis of democracy is liberty, and one principle of liberty is that all should rule and be ruled in turn. Democratic equality is not proportionate, but numerical: every man counts for one, and therefore the will of the majority is supreme. Another principle of liberty is non-interference—every man should live as he likes, if this is possible; or, if not, then he should rule and be ruled in turn—this also is a kind of equality.

Such is the nature of democracy; its characteristics are as

follows:—all officers are elected by all out of all; all to rule over each, and each in his turn over all; by lot, unless the office be one for which special knowledge is required; with little or no qualification; for a short period only; rarely if ever twice to the same office, except in the case of military offices. All men or judges selected out of all sit in judgment on all matters, or on the most important; the assembly, and not the magistrates, is supreme. Even the council, which is generally the most popular of institutions, falls into the background and loses power when the citizens are paid; for then they draw all business to themselves. And in a democracy everybody is paid when there is money enough, but when there is not, then at any rate the principal officers, such as the judges, ecclesiasts, councillors, are paid. No magistracy is perpetual; any such which have survived from ancient times are stripped of their power, and, instead of being specially elected by vote, the holders of them are appointed by lot. Poverty and vulgarity are the notes of democracy; wealth, education, and good birth of oligarchy. The most extreme form of democracy is based upon the principle of numerical equality. And in this way men believe that true freedom will be attained.

c. 3. But in what manner is this equality to be secured? Besides simple equality there is an equality of proportion, which may be obtained in two ways. 1) Five hundred rich may be reckoned equal to a thousand poor, [in other words, the rich man will have two votes where the poor has only one]; or 2) preserving the same ratio of rich and poor [i.e. 10 : 5], both may choose an equal number of representatives. Now which, according to the true idea of democracy, is the better?—some form of proportionate equality such as either of these, or the bare equality of numbers? The former, say the oligarchs; the latter, say the democrats. Yet upon the oligarchical principle, if one man were richer than all the rest, he would be a lawful tyrant; or if the democratic principle prevail, it is probable that the majority will confiscate the wealth of the minority.

All agree in saying that the rule of the majority is law. But numbers and wealth should both be included; and whichever side, when the qualifications are added up, has the greater amount,

should prevail. The real difficulty is not in finding a principle of justice, but in making the strong respect the rights of the weak.

2

Of the four kinds of democracy the first and oldest is also the best; I mean, that of which the material is a rural population who are always at work, and therefore do not attend the assembly. They are too busy to care about office, unless money can be made out of it. They are well enough off, and their ambition is satisfied if they may deliberate, and elect, either by themselves or their representatives, and can also call to account, the principal magistrates. In such a democracy a high qualification is commonly required from the holders of the greater magistracies; or, if there is no qualification, special ability. Such a form of government is excellent. The notables are satisfied because they are not governed by their inferiors; and the persons elected rule justly, because they are liable to be called to account. The superiority of this form of democracy is due to the fact that the people are owners of land. The ancient legislators were sensible of the gain, and endeavoured in every way to encourage an agricultural life. Either they limited the quantity of land which might be held by individuals, or forbade the original allotment to be sold, or required some part of it to be preserved free from mortgage, or they granted political rights to the owners of very small portions of land.

The next best material 2) out of which a democracy can be formed, and even better for the making of soldiers, is a pastoral people. The trading classes 3) who live in towns are far inferior in moral qualities; and being always on the spot they are always attending the assembly and interfering with the government. The last and worst form of democracy 4) is that in which all share alike, —legitimate, illegitimate, citizens by one parent or by both; nothing comes amiss. To increase their own power the demagogues include as many as they can. Whereas they should stop when the number of the commonalty exceeds that of the middle class or of the notables. Another practice of demagogues is to break up old associations and to form the citizens into fresh wards and tribes, as Cleisthenes did at Athens. Under democracies as under tyrannies great licence is allowed to slaves and women; and

generally there is more liberty. Such governments are popular, for most persons prefer disorder to order.

c. 5 The creation of a democracy is not so great a difficulty as the preservation of it. Any government may last a few days, but not longer, unless well regulated by laws and customs. The legislator must employ all known preservatives; against all known dangers he must guard. He should remember that the truly democratic policy is not the most extreme, but that which makes democracy last longest. He must not allow the demagogues to attack the wealthy that they may confiscate their property; confiscated property should go, not to the people, but to the state. Heavy penalties should also be inflicted on those who bring groundless accusations.

Where there are no revenues and the people can only be paid by a tax upon the notables, the sittings of the law-courts and of the assemblies should be few and brief. The rich will then be able to attend; they will not mind the expense, and causes will be better tried. The revenues, where there are any, should not be wasted in largesses to the poor, who are always wanting more and more; they should be economized, and the money distributed among the people in such quantities as may enable them to purchase a small farm, or to make a beginning in trade. It is the interest of all classes to promote their prosperity. The rich should pay the fee for the poor who attend the assemblies, and should themselves be excused from useless services. In their treatment of the poor the Carthaginians and Tarentines furnish an excellent example. The former send them to their colonies, the latter share the use of their property with them. It is worthy of a generous and sensible nobility to divide the poor among them and give them the means of going to work. The Tarentines further elect to offices by lot as well as by vote; by lot, that the poor may not be excluded; by vote, that the state may be well governed.

The language of Aristotle about the poor expresses a truly modern sentiment. He has a human feeling for them, such as is hardly to be found elsewhere in ancient philosophy. Cp. Plato, Laws, 761 C. As in Book V (c. 2. § 19), the philo-

sopher deigns to think about the miserable earnings of the poor; he sympathizes with their indignation at the extortions which are practised upon them; he is aware how much harm may be done to them by indiscriminate charity, which is like water running through a sieve; he would help them to help themselves; he would give them, not doles, but the means of stocking a shop or of purchasing a small farm. He thinks that the public revenues may with advantage be used for such an object; because the contentment of the poor is the common good of the state. In forming an estimate of such proposals, we must remember that the number of citizens in the ancient Greek states was far more manageable than in any modern European country. Aristotle would wish this comparatively small number to be divided among the rich, so that every poor man might look to some one among the notables for his maintenance. We too know the importance of dividing large districts into parishes and townships, in which the clergy and gentry or leading inhabitants may be expected to attend to the wants and interests of their poorer brethren. He is sensible that the poor require the help of the rich, and on the other hand that no class can be entirely trusted to protect the rights and interests of any other. It has been sometimes thought that an enlightened sense of their own advantage would lead the rich to provide for the poor; but, according to Aristotle, whose words cannot be said to be wholly inapplicable to our own age and country, the relations between the rich and the poor are too often of another kind. The nobles are indifferent to the sufferings of the poor, and are often oppressive. Instead of making a princely use of their money, and erecting public works which would redound to their honour, they accumulate only that they may spend upon themselves.

In Book II Aristotle is disposed to think that a liberal and common use of property would be better than communism. In a similar strain we might ask two or three questions respecting the use of property. Has not property duties as well as rights, and is it not a trust to be used for others rather than for ourselves? Or if such a standard of conduct is too exalted, may we not ask whether the greatest gainer by such liberality would not be the giver, and

whether the discovery of the way to do good without doing harm is not one of the noblest exercises both of the head and heart? Whether, lastly, property can ever be so well administered as by private persons possessing a measure of public spirit?

c. 6. Oligarchy is the opposite of democracy, and we may argue from one to the other. The best form of oligarchy has two qualifications, a higher for the important, a lower for the unimportant offices. In this form of oligarchy, which is the first and best and is akin to polity, care should be taken that the entire governing body is stronger than those who are excluded. A second form is similar but narrower. The worst and last is the family clique, which is the most tyrannical and also the weakest, and therefore liable to be ruined by the very smallest mistake. The salvation of an oligarchy depends chiefly on good order; of a democracy on numbers.

c. 7. [The preservation of oligarchies is closely connected with their military arrangements.] Now there are four kinds of military forces, cavalry, heavy infantry, light-armed troops, sailors; of these the first two are adapted to oligarchies, the last two to democracies. But often the light-armed are too much for the heavy infantry; and to provide against this danger, in every army there should be a contingent of light-armed troops. In an oligarchy, instead of raising such a force out of the lower classes who will some day rise against the government, fathers should train their own sons, while young, to the service. Another mode of preserving oligarchies is that deserving persons or those who have a property qualification or have given up mean employments should be adopted into the ruling class. The highest offices should be expensive, and then the people will not desire them; and the magistrates should signalize their accession to office by some public work. But how unlike is all this to the practice of our modern oligarchs!

c. 8. The next point which we have to consider is the right arrangement of offices in a state. Some will be necessary under all forms of government. First among these there will be 1) a warden of the market, who will inspect contracts and regulate the relations of buyers and sellers; 2) a warden of the city, who will superintend

buildings, harbours, roads, houses, and the like; where the city is large, this office should be shared by several persons; 3) a warden of the country, having a similar jurisdiction outside the walls; 4) there will be the office of treasurer, who will take charge of the revenue; 5) the recorders, who will register all contracts and legal decisions; 6) an executioner, who has duties very important, yet so invidious that one man can hardly sustain the odium of them, and they should therefore be distributed among many. The custody of prisoners is often, as at Athens, separated from the execution of sentences, and it is well to divide them, and so to diminish the unpopularity of the jailor. In general such duties should be assigned to the youth organized in bands, and the magistrates acting in turns should preside over them. Higher offices 7) are those of generals and admirals, who have their subordinates. Again, there are officers 8) who audit the public accounts. Besides these, 9) there are the officers called 'councillors,' or 'a council,' who summon the assembly and introduce all measures, and also ratify them. Once more, there are 10) priests and other officers attached to the temples; 11) offerers of sacrifice—the latter called archons, kings, or prytanes. Specially characteristic of aristocratic states are guardians of the law, of women, of children; and also directors of gymnastic and Dionysiac contests.

There are three forms of the highest elective offices of the state; these are guardians of the law, probuli, councillors; the first aristocratical, the second oligarchical, the third democratical.

The analysis of governments into their parts or offices, like the analysis of the human mind into the intellectual and the moral, and the subdivision of these into their respective faculties, was first made in ancient Greek philosophy. The idea of organization is not found in a primitive society, 'for among barbarians all men are slaves alike;' nor in the despotisms of the age which succeeded. In the Homeric poems there are hereditary chiefs in peace and war, sons or descendants of the Gods; and there is a faint indication of the assembly of the people. There are also priests and heralds and different classes of warriors, soldiers and captives of the spear; but further than this, organization did not reach.

There is no distinction between kings and nobles, between generals and judges, or between a ruling and a subject class. Such was the poetical idea which the Greeks conceived of their own past history. It was a long time before the need of offices was recognized or there began to be a division into classes, and still longer before the opposition between them arose, and a method of reconciling them had to be devised. The earliest distinction is that made between the general and the legislator or judge. (Later the ecclesia is separated from the dicastery.) Yet according to our notions there is no real difference between them; for they are both popular assemblies: they both decide causes, and the same kind of rhetorical arguments, taking sometimes an ethical form, are addressed to both of them. A further distinction is made in Aristotle between the deliberative and executive, but their relation to one another is not clearly defined. One of the most peculiar and characteristic features of an Hellenic state was the calling of magistrates to account after their term of office had expired.

The division of governments into their political and judicial elements, and into their legislative and political functions, must necessarily exist in all civilized countries. Aristotle insists strongly upon the necessity of adapting offices to the constitution. But he can hardly be said to view the question in a comprehensive manner, and the examples which he gives of such adaptations are feeble and trifling. First among them is the (adaptation of judicial to political institutions.) If the government is exclusive, then the law-courts should be exclusive: if all are represented in one, then all should be represented in both. (The power of the one should not be capable of checkmating or overthrowing the other.) Though there is some recognition of offices which require special skill, the idea of a single skilled person, the great jurist of the Romans, who has made the laws of his country the study of a life, is not to be found in Aristotle. The deeper study of law did not exist among the Greeks of his time. In the judicial, as Aristotle would say, the voice of God and reason should prevail; in the political there is a mixture of the beast. How are these two to be adjusted? It is not by accident but by a natural connection that in the government

of the United States an elective judiciary is combined with the extreme form of democracy; yet it seems hardly possible that judges who are ill-paid and have a precarious tenure of office should resist considerations of party and interest (cp. ii. 9. § 19). So much independence as is not absolutely inconsistent with democracy should therefore be granted to them. There is a natural sense of justice in mankind which makes this possible, if the people are educated to see that moral principles are the basis of any true form of politics. The sphere of law is more limited than that of politics, but also higher, for it is concerned only with truth, which is the foundation of all justice; and the legal element of society is or ought to be conservative, not only because it appeals to precedent and authority, but because it maintains right which is the surest basis of a government or state.

Aristotle places in a long series all the officers of state from the king or general down to the executioner, but he does not treat of the relation of the rulers or ruling class to the popular assembly. In modern states the power of the nobles has been always tending to encroach upon that of the monarch, and the power of the people upon both. Sometimes reactions have occurred and reactionary forms of government have been restored when democracies have become imbecile or shown themselves incapable of governing. The distinctions of ancient times have been more clearly defined, and some new ones have been added. Individual judges dividing their power with juries have for the most part taken the place of judicial assemblies. Civil and military functions have been more separated; by the side of the army the Civil Service has grown up to an almost equal power, the one cutting through with the sword the knots of the world, the other throwing a network, from which there is no escape, over a whole country. Both have a certain independence, and yet are responsible to the great Assembly or Parliament of the Realm. If the ministers of state or the generals of an army unduly seek to extend their powers and duties or Parliament to absorb them, the administration of the state will become weakened or disordered.

Great offices of state should have each their own sphere divided according to the subjects with which government is concerned. Those

who hold them should be capable of acting together, and yet not liable to interfere with one another. We should not have the Minister of War asking for money; the Minister of Finance refusing it. Both should be subject to a higher power which would generally leave them to perform their duties independently, but would at times arbitrate between them. The great secret of administration is to combine what is local and individual with the uniformity of a system, to leave every man to himself, and yet to prevent his getting into the way of others. The higher power in a free state should represent the will of the nation. There should be a main-spring, and larger and smaller wheels by which the required force is regulated and diffused. Among the Romans when special danger was apprehended, or when there was a conflict of parties or offices in the state, a Dictator was appointed. All the powers of the state were thus brought under the direction of a single mind; they were suddenly stopped, and at the same moment a new life was communicated from the centre to the extremities of the state. In some modern countries there have been times when the nation seemed to be equally divided into irreconcileable factions, and then the only way of saving society has been Imperialism.

In modern, as well as in ancient times, the relations of great officers, or, as we should say, of the Ministry, to the Parliament or public Assembly have been peculiar. The greater part of the business to be submitted to the Parliament or representative Assembly has been prepared by them; and all their public acts have been subject to enquiries or resolutions of the House. Where should this control stop, and what liberty should be allowed to them? No precise answer can be given to this question. But it is clear that a minister should seek to guide the members of the Assembly in matters of which he is better informed than they are, and that he should resist unnecessary interference with the executive. His influence over them depends upon his power of evoking in them that nobler principle in men which is the better self of the political society.

THE Seventh Book is not more regular in structure than those which have preceded it. The thread is tolerably evident, but is often dropped and taken up again after a digression. This irregularity may be in a great measure due to the form in which the Aristotelian writings have been transmitted to us. But we must not complain of some disorder in ancient authors; the habit of arrangement was not easily acquired by them; even the greatest among them have not moulded their works into an artistic whole. Such an overruling unity of idea is not always found in Plato himself: they follow 'whither the argument leads:' they pass from one subject to another, and do not impose upon themselves that rule of symmetry or consistency which is demanded of a good modern writer. (See Essay on Structure of Aristotelian Writings, vol. ii.)

The book opens with an eloquent panegyric upon the life of virtue, which is the same both for individuals and states, and which is not confined in either to outward actions. But this life of virtue requires material conditions, a given number of citizens, a situation near but not too near the sea, a territory not too large, suitable walls and buildings, a national character in which spirit and intelligence are combined. It is also made up of parts, and the principal parts are the two governing classes, warriors and counsellors. Throughout the book we trace the connection with difficulty, and some favourite speculations, such as the question whether the life of the freeman is better than that of the ruler, the right of the one best man, the opposition of the practical and speculative reason and the classes of actions corresponding to them, are introduced by the way. The greater part of the discussion has no more reference to the perfect state than to any other. The character of the state, though essentially aristocratic (for the husbandmen are excluded from it), is nowhere precisely defined, and nothing is said about its relation to any other form of government. There are several incorrectnesses of style and expression, for example, the mention of the freeman who is substituted in c. 2 for the contemplative philosopher; or in c. 6 the words 'all the citizens are virtuous,' meaning not all, but only the higher classes; or the use of the term 'ruling in turn' (c. 14) in a new sense, for the succession of the young to the old, not for the alternation of one section of the citizens

with another; or the seeming confusion of contemplation with leisure (c. 14). Nor can the writer resist the temptation to discuss the antiquities and geography of Greece and Italy. After describing in detail the buildings of the city, he returns to the nature of virtue, its absolute and relative character, the means toward it, the elements which constitute it, the priority of the mind to the body. He is thus led on to speak of education, first, before birth, and secondly, after birth. With this great subject, which is very imperfectly handled, the treatise comes rather abruptly to an end. Nowhere else in his writings has Aristotle borrowed so freely from Plato, yet he, or the writer of this part of the treatise, has only alluded to him where he disagrees from him: cp. vii. c. 7, § 5–8; c. 11, § 8; c. 17, § 6; viii. c. 7, § 9. For some of the similarities, cp. vii. c. 7, § 23, and Rep. iv. 35 E: vii. c. 9, § 3; Laws, xi. 919: vii. c. 10, § 7; Laws, iii. 676: vii. c. 10, § 11; Laws, v. 745, &c.

BOOK VII.

The best life both for individuals and states is a life of virtue, not of war or conquest: the conditions of the perfect state: national character: distinction between the conditions and the parts of a state: caste: syssitia: cultivation of the land: walls and buildings: happiness is the realization of virtue: marriage: education.

c. 1. In enquiring into the best form of a state we have first to determine which is the most eligible life, and, secondly, whether the same life is or is not best for the individual and for the state.

The division of goods into external goods, goods of the body, and goods of the soul, is generally accepted; and no one will deny that the happy man must have all three. But there is a difference of opinion about the relative superiority of different classes of goods. Some think that a little virtue is enough, but set no limit to their desire of power, wealth or reputation. To whom we reply that virtue is not acquired or preserved by external goods, but external goods by virtue. Where they are in excess they are harmful or useless, but

the goods of the soul are never in excess. And as the soul is higher and nobler than the body, so the goods of the soul are higher than the goods of the body; and the goods of the body and external goods are to be chosen for the sake of the soul, not the soul for the sake of them. The happiness of a man is proportional to his wisdom and virtue. Of this truth God is a witness to us, for he is happy in his own nature. Whereas external goods are gifts of fortune—they are due to chance, but no one was ever just or temperate by chance. In like manner the state which is happiest is morally best and wisest; and the courage, justice, and wisdom of a state are the same qualities which make a brave, just, and wise man.

The true relation of the individual to the state was not clearly understood by Plato and Aristotle, because the limitations which are imposed upon common or collective action were not perceived by them. Hence they appear to us, more frequently than modern political writers, to fall into the error of confounding Ethics with Politics. A good simple man is apt to believe that a state can be as easily reformed as an individual: he will often repeat the aphorism that 'what is morally wrong cannot be politically right.' He does not see that the changes which he deems so easy are limited by the condition of what is possible. There are many opposing winds and conflicting currents which interfere with the good intentions of statesmen and the progress of politics. The wills of men counteract one another: and the minority must be deducted from the majority before the force of any given movement can be ascertained. The will of a state is the balance or surplus of will; the conscience of a state is that higher opinion or judgment of men acting collectively which can make itself felt in the world.

But if the analogy of the state and the individual has been a cause of error, it has also had an elevating influence on the science of Politics. In the pursuit of material interest men are always losing sight of the true and the good. The infusion of Ethics into Politics tends to restore them, and this ethical element is derived chiefly from ancient philosophy. In modern as in ancient times there are some statesmen who think that Politics are entirely concerned with finance (i. 2. § 13). The formula that the state is only

'a machine for the protection of life and property,' though rather worn out and discredited in our own day, had a great hold on the last generation of statesmen. When the pendulum has swayed long enough in the other direction the world may return to the saws of political economy, for the recovery of some truths as well as errors which are contained in them. At present we are living in an age which is averse to such formulas; which feels that more is needed; and the study of ancient political philosophy has helped to restore a more elevated conception of society. In Aristotle and Plato we have different types of ideal states,—a perfect state on the ground, and a perfect state in the air to which we may look as the form or example of a higher political life. Such ideas are apt to become unreal, and may even be injurious when they supersede the natural machinery of government, but when rightly infused into the mass of human motives, they seem to be worth all the rest. They must be clothed in circumstances, and then they become to the state what the mind is to the body, what the higher thoughts of men are to mere habits and fashions.

c. 2. We may assume, then, that the happiness of the state and of the individual are the same. But two questions remain to be determined: 1) Is a political or a contemplative life to be preferred? 2) What is the best form or condition of the state? As we are engaged, not in an ethical, but in a political enquiry, the latter is to us the main question. But the former is also not without interest. Is the life of the philosopher or of the statesman the more eligible? For the wise man, like the wise state, will seek to regulate his life according to the best end. Some say that the exercise of any rule over others, even of a just rule, is a great impediment to virtue; while others maintain that the political is the only true life, and that virtue may be practised quite as well by statesmen as by private persons; others will even affirm that despotic power is the only true happiness. And the laws of many nations make power and conquest their aim. Yet to the reflecting mind, it must appear strange that the statesman should be always considering how he can tyrannize over others. A physician does not deceive or coerce his patients, nor a pilot the passengers in his ship. Nevertheless, despotism

is thought by some to be a true form of government: and men are not ashamed of practising towards their neighbours what in their own case they would declare to be neither expedient nor right. Yet they cannot suppose that they have a right to rule over their equals; but only over those who are by nature intended to serve. Other men are not wild animals whom they may hunt and eat. And so far from war being the true object of a state, there may be states which, having no neighbours, have no enemies, and are nevertheless happy in isolation. Hence we see that warlike pursuits are means, not ends; for they are not essential to the happiness of a state. The good law-giver will enquire how men and cities can attain happiness, and how they can [illegible] their duty toward their neighbours if they have any, and he will vary his enactments accordingly.

c. 3. And now let us address those who agree that the life of virtue is the most eligible, but differ about the manner of practising it. Some renounce political power; they think that the life of the free citizen is better than the life of the statesman. Others think the life of the statesman the best on the ground that virtuous activity is happiness. Both are partly right and partly wrong. The first are right in saying that the life of the freeman is better than that of the despot, but wrong in supposing 1) that all rule is despotic, for there is a rule over freemen as well as over slaves; 2) wrong again in thinking that the life of the freeman is necessarily inactive. The upholders of the statesman's claim see clearly enough that activity is preferable to inactivity, but they think that virtue is power, because the greater the power of a man the more noble actions he will be able to perform, and that he should therefore regard neither family nor any other obligations, but the acquisition of wealth and power only. Not so; for if this were true, the life of a thief or a highwayman would be the best of all. Rule is only honourable where the ruler is manifestly superior to his subjects. No success, however great, can justify a violation of principle. Evil is not to be done that good may come. He only has a right to rule who is superior in virtue, and this superiority in virtue must be accompanied by the capacity for action. Nor is the life of action necessarily relative to others

or confined to external acts; there are thoughts and contemplations perfect in themselves, as well as actions which have practical results; and there may be an inward energy, like the divine, both in states and individuals, and in the world at large.

Thus much by way of preface; from the abstract we may now pass to the concrete, and having reviewed other states, may proceed to enquire into the conditions of the ideal or perfect state.

c. 4. The legislator, like any other artist, must have materials upon which to work. We may presuppose for him imaginary conditions, but nothing impossible. First he will have to consider 1) the numbers, but far more 2) the character of the people, and then 3) the size and character of the country. The greatness of a state is to be estimated, not by the numbers, but by the quality of the citizens. It has a work to do; and that is the greatest city which accomplishes the greatest work. Great is a relative term, and is here used in the sense in which we speak of a great man. A city in which there are many artisans and few soldiers is not really great. We know from experience that a very populous city can seldom be well governed; and we may reasonably assume that a great multitude cannot be orderly; nothing short of Divine Power can impart law to infinity. The beauty of a state, as of a ship or of anything else, depends upon proportion: magnitude must be combined with good order.

A state begins to exist when the population is self-sufficing, and it must not be increased to such an extent that the administration breaks down because the citizens cease to know one another, or that foreigners and meties can creep undiscovered into the rights of citizens. The entire multitude should be taken in at a single view.

The Greeks were averse to any considerable extension of the size or population of a state. The citizens were to know one another, they were to be accustomed to act together, they were to live within the same walls. When the city began to increase in population, the Greeks instead of allowing it to grow indefinitely sent out a colony to some other place. There seem to have been many causes of this limitation. First, 1) there was the fact; the early

Greek populations were not large, and the ruling class were not upon the average more than a third or fourth of the whole; the valleys in which they were located were not capable of sustaining great numbers, any more than the valleys of Cumberland or Switzerland in England and in Europe. 2) There were the necessities of self-defence; when war was almost the constant state of man, and nations were not yet organized, the country population could not extend very far from the city which protected them. What had been the fact thus became the principle. To the Greek the cities of Assyria or of Egypt, built in vast plains, seemed to have a monstrous and unmeaning greatness. The Greek races had quickly become diversified by circumstances in lesser tribes, and the configuration of the country tended to maintain and strengthen the subdivisions. A distinct and peculiar life was stamped upon each of them. The city soon became all in all; ~~the country nothing~~. The fewness of the aristocracy and their constant struggles with the rising democracy also tended to prevent their free expansion. The intensity of their inner life rendered it impossible for them to amalgamate great masses of men. Besides, the idea itself was repugnant to the Greek mind. 'The good was of the nature of the finite,' in politics as in other departments of knowledge. Hence the saying of Aristotle that 'the state which consists of 100,000 men is no longer a state.'

c. 5. The territory of the state should likewise be moderate in size, but large and fertile enough to enable the citizens to live temperately and liberally in the enjoyment of leisure. It should be difficult for an enemy to get into it, and easy for the citizens to get out of it. The country and the inhabitants should be taken in at a glance. The city should be well situated for the protection of the country both by sea and land, and should be a centre of inland as well as of maritime commerce.

c. 6. Whether a communication with the sea is beneficial or not is a disputed question; much may be said on both sides. The influx of strangers and the increase of population are adverse to good order. But on the other hand, the citizens should be able to act at sea as well as by land against an enemy; and they will require

imports and exports. It may not be well that they should seek to be a market for the world, but still they will find the advantage of having a port near the town and dependent on it. The possession of a moderate naval force is therefore advantageous. The citizens require such a force for their own needs; they should also be formidable to their neighbours, and on the other hand they should be able to assist them, if necessary, by sea as well as by land. The number of this naval force should be relative to the size and character of the state. No increase of population is required to maintain it. The marines who will be the officers must be citizens taken from the infantry, and the large populations of perioeci and husbandmen will supply abundance of common sailors.

c. 7. We have next to speak of the character of the citizens, a subject which leads us to consider national character in general. The gifts of nature are variously distributed among different races. The northern nations are courageous but stupid; capable of preserving their freedom, but not capable of political life or of command. The Orientals are intelligent but spiritless, and always in a state of subjection. The Hellenes, who dwell in an intermediate region, are high-spirited and also intelligent; they are well governed, and might, if united, rule the world. But this combination of qualities does not exist equally in all of them, and both intelligence and courage are required in those whom the legislator is training to virtue. We do not agree [with Plato when he says] 'that the guardians of a state should be gentle to those whom they know and fierce to those whom they do not know.' For passion is the quality of the soul which begets friendship, and our anger is stirred more by the contempt or ingratitude of friends than by the injuries of enemies. Both the power of command and the love of freedom are based upon this quality.

The middle position which the Greek occupies between the over-civilized Asiatic and the under-civilized Gaul and Thracian is a central fact in the philosophy of History; for from the Greek the political life of the modern world and the very form of the human mind may be said to be inherited. In the Asiatic a feeble and fanciful intelligence has become separated from cha-

racter, in the barbarian, character from intelligence. In the Greek at his best they are assimilated or harmonized, and such a balance or harmony never existed in any other ancient nation. The great empires of the East were slowly decaying or had already crumbled beneath the sand which buried their cities. The Egyptians, except from the impact of Greeks, during two thousand years and more, had 'learnt nothing,' and they 'had forgotten nothing.' They were 'hoary with time,' and the old age of the world was no match for the youth Alexander. Far in the North and the South, but reaching to the fair shores of the Mediterranean, there were barbarous tribes, creatures of impulse and of violence, who gathered something from the civilization which they touched. In the centre of them all dwelt the Greek, seeming to differ from them in beauty of form and enlightenment of mind almost as much as gods from men. But this greatest and least among the nations only for a short time, scarcely more than the length of two human lives, retained this happy mixture of earth's best elements. Aristotle hardly recognizes that he saw the Greek world already in decay. But the life which had departed was after a time to rise again in a new form. 'That which thou sowest is not quickened except it die.' The real greatness of Hellas is the influence which she has exercised on humanity. New forms of government, new admixtures of race were to arise after many ages, in which a small seed of Greek literature, not a hundredth or thousandth part of the whole, was to flourish and abound under the altered circumstances of modern Europe.

There are conditions as well as parts of a state; [means as well as ends]. And two things of which the one is an end, the other the means, have nothing in common except the relation. The conditions of a state must not be confused with the organic parts of it. The builder requires tools and materials; they are the conditions of the house, and the art of the builder is for the sake of the house, but the house and the builder have nothing in common. And so states require property, but property is no part of a state, which aims at the best life possible, and is not merely a community of living beings. [The end is the highest good, and] c. 8.

men seek after this best life or highest good in various modes, out of which arise the various forms of government. We are seeking for the parts of a state, and these are to be found somewhere among the conditions of it.

First there must be food; secondly, arts; thirdly, arms; fourthly, money; fifthly, or rather first, a care of religion; sixthly, political and judicial administration. Without these the community will not be self-sufficing; and therefore the state must contain husbandmen, artisans, soldiers, capitalists, priests, and judges.

c. 9. But should these pursuits be common to all? or divided among different classes? or some common to all and others not? In democracies all share in all: in oligarchies the opposite principle prevails. In the best state, which is also the happiest, the citizens are virtuous, not relatively but absolutely; and they ought not to lead the ignoble life of mechanics or tradesmen. Neither should they be husbandmen who have no leisure, and therefore cannot practise virtue or fulfil political duties. But when mechanics and husbandmen are excluded, there remain only the two classes of warriors and councillors, and our enquiry is therefore limited to the question whether the functions of these two shall be discharged by the same or by different persons. It is a provision of Nature that the young shall be warriors, the old councillors; and the young will be willing enough to wait for their turn of office. Such a distribution will be both expedient and just, and will contain an element of proportion, for the duties of the two will be relative to their respective ages. Besides, the rulers should be in easy circumstances, and should have leisure to be virtuous; for without virtue, happiness cannot exist; and the city is happy when the citizens are happy. The meaner sort will be mechanics, the slaves and perioeci husbandmen. As to the priests, they too must be citizens; for only by citizens can the Gods be duly honoured. They should be men who have grown old in the service of the state as warriors and councillors, the eldest of the elders. To sum up: there must be husbandmen, craftsmen, and labourers of all kinds—these are necessary to the existence of a state; but the parts of the state are councillors and warriors.

c. 10. The division of the population into warriors and husbandmen is

not an invention of political philosophers, but a very ancient institution still existing in Egypt, which is the oldest of all countries, and in Crete, established, as we learn from tradition, by a law of Sesostris in Egypt and of Minos in Crete. Common meals are also of great antiquity; according to the learned among the Italians they were first introduced into Hellas from Italy. But these and many other things have been invented several times over in the course of ages.

There is a general agreement in favour of common meals. But they should be furnished at the public cost, so that even the poorest may not be excluded from them. To this extent I agree with those who maintain that property should be common. The expense of religious worship should also be defrayed by the state. To meet such charges the land should be divided into two parts, the one public, and the other private. Of the public land half should be appropriated to the service of the Gods, half to defray the common meals. Of the private land, half should be near the border and half near the city. Where there is not this arrangement, those at a distance who are not immediately affected will be too eager to strike, while those who are on the border will be ready to purchase peace at any price. The cultivators should be slaves of an inferior sort, and not all of the same race; or they should be perioeci of foreign race and of a like inferior nature. Some of them should be employed on private lands, the remainder on the property of the state. Slaves should be well treated, and should be encouraged by the hope of freedom. But I shall return to this subject [a promise unfulfilled] at some other time.

Nothing is less like Aristotle's political ideal than a state in which all men are free and equal. On the contrary, he is quite satisfied that the land should belong to a ruling and be tilled by a subject class. He would keep the rulers thoroughly united among themselves, and weaken the subjects by dispersing them. So far is he from approving entirely of the pure democracy which he elsewhere describes. He accuses Plato of indistinctness in his account of the lower classes; but is he much clearer himself? What he says hardly amounts to more than this, that

the poorer classes should be treated humanely by the rich, and that whatever political privileges they may possess, they should be deprived as far as possible of the opportunity of exercising them. The ancient institution of caste is regarded by him as the natural beginning of society. Syssitia should always exist in a well-ordered state. He is going to explain his reasons for taking this view, but, as in many other passages, the intention is no sooner formed than it seems to be forgotten.

In what follows we are interested to observe the external conditions which he requires in the state. First, good air and good water; for these are the elements which we use oftenest, and on which our health is most dependent. The principles of sanitation have never been stated more clearly or concisely. The separation of drinking water from water used for other purposes is an ingenious idea which has been adopted in some modern cities. The walls and buildings of the state illustrate the military character of Greek society. The priests have a feeble place among the other classes. As in Plato (Laws, vi. 760), they are to be aged citizens who are no longer useful in war or politics. Man when he has done his duty and is passing out of life is transferred to the service of the Gods.

c. 11. The city should be open to the sea and to the country. With a view to health, 1) it should be exposed to the east and sheltered from the north: 2) there should be a good natural supply of water: 3) the situation should be convenient for political, and 4) for military purposes. The supply of water and air is most important, for these are the elements which we use most. In wise states, if the supply is insufficient, a distinction is made between drinking water and water used for other purposes; and in addition to the natural springs and fountains, reservoirs are established to collect the rain.

Different positions are suited to different forms of government,—an acropolis to a king or oligarchy, a plain to a democracy, many strongholds to an aristocracy. The houses should be built upon a regular plan; but a part also in the old irregular fashion, that beauty and safety may be combined. The city should be fortified; the notion [of Plato] that walls had better be left to slumber in the

ground is an antiquated fancy; they should be made as strong as possible, especially now that siege engines have been brought to such perfection. To have no fortifications would be as foolish as to level the heights of a country, or to leave a house unwalled lest the inmates should become cowards. The walls of a city should be ornamental as well as useful, and they should be adapted to resist the latest improvements in war. '*Si vis pacem, para bellum.*'

There should be guard-houses in the walls, and as the citizens c. 12. are to be distributed at common meals, common tables for the guards should be set up in them. The temples and government buildings should occupy a site towering over the city, as becomes the abode of virtue. Near this spot let there be an agora for freemen, from which all trade should be scrupulously excluded. There the gymnastic exercises of the elder men may be performed in the presence of some of the magistrates, while others superintend the exercises of the youth in another place. There must also be a traders' agora in some other spot—this should be easily accessible both by land and sea. The magistrates who deal with contracts and have the care of the city and the agora should be established near the agora. Nor must the priests be forgotten; public tables will be provided for them in their proper place near the temples.

A similar order should prevail in the country. There too the magistrates must have guard-houses and common tables; and temples dedicated to gods and heroes will be scattered throughout the land.

Enough of details. The well-being of the state, like all other b. 13. well-being, consists first in the choice of a right end and aim of action; secondly, of the right means. In life, as in the arts, a man may mistake or fail to attain either or both. The physician may not always understand the nature of health, or he may use the wrong means for the restoration of it. All men desire happiness, but many, through some accident or defect of nature or of circumstances, fail to attain it; for even the highest virtue has need of some portion, however small, of external goods. And as we are enquiring into the best government of a state, and since the happiest state is that which is best governed, we must enquire into the nature of happiness. As we ventured to say in the

Ethics, happiness is the perfect exercise of virtue; and this not conditional but absolute. I use the term 'conditional' to express that which is necessary, like punishments and chastisements, which are lesser evils and therefore relative goods. But actions which aim at honour and advantage are the foundation and creation of good. A good man will make the best use of poverty and disease, but he can only be happy when he has health and wealth. [In like manner the good state will be patient of adversity, but can only attain happiness when blessed with favourable conditions.] The absolute good is the true good, but by a confusion of ideas we are apt to argue that the external conditions are the end, which is just as if we were to say that a musical performance is due to the instrument and not to the skill of the performer. The goods of fortune are often matters of chance,—we can only pray for them; but the virtue and goodness of a state are the result of knowledge and purpose. A city is virtuous when all the citizens are virtuous; and therefore we must enquire how they may become such.

There are three elements of virtue—nature, habit, reason. Every one must be born a man, and he must have a certain character or habit. The animals lead a life of nature, and they are also influenced by habit. But man, and man only, has reason in addition to nature. And these three, nature, habit, reason, must be in accord; and reason should control both nature and habit.

c. 14. But there still remains a question which has not been fully answered: Should rulers and ruled be always the same, or are they to interchange? And upon the answer to this question the education of the citizens will depend. If there were men as clearly superior to their fellows in body and mind as the Gods are to men, there could be no doubt; the one class would always rule and the other obey. But since there is no such marked superiority, it is just that the citizens should rule and be ruled in turn. [We note that the words 'ruling and being ruled in turns' are here used to describe not, as elsewhere, a constitutional but an aristocratical government, like the Republic of Plato.] In regard to education, Nature herself has made a difference, for she distinguishes between old and young, and has appointed the one to rule, the other to be ruled. The rulers and the ruled are the same, yet also different;

and therefore their education, although the same, will differ in some respects. Those who are ruled, by obeying learn to rule; [how or what the rulers learn is not said, unless the meaning is, that they learn by experience]. There is a just and an unjust rule; the former for the sake of the ruled, to which the citizen may honourably submit; the latter tyrannical, existing for the good of the rulers only. Under a rule which is just and gentle many apparently menial duties may be honourably performed by the younger citizens.

The virtue of the citizen and of the ruler is the same with that of the good man, and the legislator has to consider how his citizens may become good. Now the soul of man has two parts, one, the rational, having reason in itself, the other, not having, but obeying reason. And he is good who has the virtues of both; yet clearly the virtues of the part which has reason are the superior, and the end is more likely to be found in them, the higher in the higher. The reason too is subdivided into the practical and the speculative; and the actions of the speculative, which is the superior part, are higher and better than those of the inferior. And the whole of life is divided into two parts, business and leisure, war and peace, and actions are divided into those which are useful and necessary, and those which are honourable. And in all, the useful is for the sake of the honourable, the lower of the higher. These are the principles in which the statesman should train his citizens. Yet even the best lawgivers have framed their laws only with a view to what is gainful and profitable. The Lacedaemonian constitution, although greatly eulogized, aims at nothing higher than war and conquest, which is deemed happiness. But surely the Lacedaemonians are not a happy people now that their empire has passed away; they continue in the observance of the old laws, but the better part of life has departed from them. And the desire of dominion in nations is really a crime of the same sort as the usurpation of power in individuals. The law-giver should implant in his citizens the love of the best; for the same things are best both for individuals and states. Men should not study war for the sake of enslaving others, but they should provide against their own enslave-

ment; they should rule for the good of the governed, and they should rule over none but those who are by nature slaves. Military states are safe only in time of war; they fall asunder in peace.

Leaving the external conditions of the state, Aristotle now proceeds to consider the higher aspects of it. The same moderate principle which he had already enunciated in the Nicomachean Ethics, namely that happiness is not altogether separable from external goods, is here repeated, though less clearly and with a certain degree of confusion. The state must have a fair share of material prosperity, and there may be conditions under which the life of a society, like that of an individual, becomes no longer endurable. But although the state is not absolutely independent of external circumstances, the higher principle of politics is virtue, which is given by reason working through education.

After what has been told us in Chap. x., that there is a distinction between the owners and cultivators of land, we are surprised to find that all, whether rulers or subjects, are to have their share of governing. The cultivators, then, would seem to be a class inferior to the subjects. The censure passed on Hippodamus may be retorted,—Surely there is a great deal of confusion in all this.

Aristotle and Plato were well aware that the Spartans and the Hellenic world generally had exalted too much the military ideal. They saw that the virtues of war could not be separated from the virtues of peace. But they were equally strenuous in maintaining that an individual or a state must be able to defend themselves. Courage founded upon animal spirit was held by them to be the safeguard of every virtue. But they had not attained to the distinction of physical and moral courage; nor had they determined the relation of the reason to the desires. They had not yet made a study of the virtues, but had only taken them in the rough, without clearly distinguishing them. Their analysis was imperfect and often accidental, derived as much from the associations of a word as from the observation of facts. Nor are we ourselves aware how much in all mental investigations we are under the influence of language and of crude ideas inherited from the ancients.

It may be observed that Aristotle in the latter part of this Book is describing, not a democracy or a timocracy, but an aristocracy in which the relation of classes is the same, or nearly the same, as in the Republic of Plato. He has told us that democracy is 'a necessity, not a good;' he is here speaking of the good, not of the necessity;—of the state which is based, not on numbers, but on virtue, 'and provided with a fair share of external goods.' His old formula of 'ruling and being ruled in turn' he still retains, but in a different sense; the alternation is not the artificial interchange of citizens of the same age, but the natural division of them into old and young. The injustice of one class ruling and the other being ruled is supposed to be remedied by the class which is governed looking forward to being governors; they are willing to wait until their turn comes. This is called 'justice according to proportion;' all the old are to rule, all the young are to obey. How such an arrangement is possible in a great city or how the education of the old and young differs is not explained.

c. 15. The city should possess the virtues of peace as well as of war, of leisure as well as of business. Her citizens should be temperate, brave, just,—qualities which are especially needed by the rich and well-to-do. The dwellers in the Islands of the Blest, if such there be, will above all men need philosophy and temperance and justice. War is compulsory, but in peace a man is his own master. It is therefore peculiarly disgraceful to him not to be able to use aright the goods of life in time of peace.

We have already determined that nature and habit and reason are required in man; but we have not said whether early training should be that of reason or of habit. The training must not be of one only, but of both; for the two must accord; and will then form the best of harmonies. Either reason or habit may be mistaken, and fail to attain the ideal of life. Now every end has a beginning in some former end. But reason and mind are the final end towards which human nature strives [they have their beginning in habit and nature], and to this education should be directed. The care of the body should precede that of the soul; and the training of the appetitive part should follow, but always the body

for the sake of the soul; the appetites, of the reason; the lower, for the sake of the higher.

c. 16. It will be the first care of the legislator that the population are strong and healthy; and therefore he will begin by regulating the marriages of his citizens. He must provide 1) that the time of reproduction in men and women should correspond; 2) that the parents should be of suitable ages relatively to the children when they grow up; 3) that the frames of the children should from their birth be moulded to his will. The parents should marry at the right time, that is to say, the men at 37, and the women at 18. For since the limit of generation in men is 70 and in women 50, they will then marry in their prime; and the children will succeed them at a suitable age. When persons are married too young, their children are apt to be small or ill-developed; in childbirth the younger women suffer more, and more of them die; such early unions are apt to make them wanton, and in men the bodily frame is stunted. Marriages should take place in winter, and, if the natural philosophers are right, during the prevalence of a north rather than of a south wind. The constitution of both parents should be strong and inured to labour, not the temperament of an athlete any more than of a valetudinarian, but in a mean between them. Women who are pregnant should take exercise and have a nourishing diet; their minds should be at ease, for children derive their nature from their parents. Deformed offspring should not be reared; and if there are too many children, abortion must be procured,—a practice which is not criminal if life has not yet begun in the embryo. The parents should not continue procreation too long: it should cease when the fathers have reached the age of 50 or 55. For the children of the very old, like the children of the very young, are weakly both in body and mind.

Adultery should be deemed disgraceful, and if it occur during the time of cohabitation, should be punished with loss of privileges.

c. 17. Young children should be fed on milk,—the less wine the better. Motion of every kind is good for them; in some countries mechanical appliances are used to straighten their limbs. They should be accustomed to bear cold from the first. The cries of a child

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

should not be restrained, for they have an excellent physical effect. Up to five years the children must learn nothing, but only play; and their games should be miniature representations of after-life. They should not be left too much with slaves, and should not be allowed to hear improper stories. Indeed, all indecency of speech must be banished from the city; for shameful words are the parents of shameful actions. A freeman who says or does anything unseemly shall be beaten if he is young; or if he be an older person, he shall lose the privileges of a citizen.

All indecent statues and pictures must be prohibited, except in the temples of certain Gods; and the young must not go to the theatre until they are old enough to take their place at the common meals. Children while they are growing up should only see what is good; for their first impressions colour their whole life. What men hear first at the theatre, or anywhere else, has the greatest effect upon them. And therefore youth should be strangers to vice in every form.

The poets who divide the ages of men by sevens are not always right; we had better adhere to the distinctions which nature makes, and divide education into two periods of equal or unequal length, from seven to the age of puberty, and onwards to the age of 21.

The precepts about early education are chiefly taken from Plato. Yet we observe that there is no acknowledgment of the source from which they come. Plato is only mentioned to be censured, when he has first been misinterpreted. We are surprised to find how high a place in the state is assigned to education both by Plato and Aristotle; whereas in modern treatises on politics it is generally banished as being part of another subject, or a subject in itself. At their birth, and even before their birth, the children of the state are to be the special care of the legislator, and their whole life is to be regulated by him. This idea is deeply impressed upon ancient political philosophy. And though, as Aristotle truly says, he has treated this subject in a very cursory manner, and never fulfills the promise that he will elsewhere return to it, yet, following closely in the footsteps of Plato, he has discussed it with a breadth of

view scarcely to be found in modern writers. He sees that the body must come before the soul, because in the first years of life the child is the creature of bodily impressions; yet all for the sake of the soul, which gradually takes possession of the bodily frame. There is a mystic tie by which they are linked together, and by which the human reason is connected with the divine.

Very little in this short tractate upon education can be deemed original. The greater part is to be found in the Laws and the Republic. And the claim to originality might be further diminished if we had more of the contemporary literature.

There is no break or division between the Seventh and Eighth Books. A very imperfect notion of the subject which they profess to treat is given in them. The education of after-life, whether political or speculative, seems never to have been seriously considered by Aristotle. Of mathematics and of literature he says little or nothing. His main ideas about education are that it should be public or national, and adapted to the constitution of the state,—an education which, as far as we know, existed nowhere in Hellas except at Sparta, and there only in an imperfect form. In other respects he does not depart from the ordinary type of Greek education.

THE Eighth Book contains a very imperfect sketch of education, in which a few fragmentary though sagacious remarks on training and gymnastics, and a more elaborate discussion of the place of music in the studies of youth, are introduced. It has been sometimes said that Aristotle could never have intended these few remarks to be his whole account of education which had already been treated of by Plato in a fuller and more perfect form, and therefore that he must be supposed to have left that part of the treatise unfinished. The same remark applies to other writings of Aristotle, notably to the Poetics. Has Aristotle no more than this to tell us about poetry?—is the reflection which naturally arises in the mind of the modern reader. But the comparison of these two examples, to which many others might be added, makes us hesitate in applying this favourite commonplace of an 'unfinished work,' and we are led to think that what appears to us a meagre and imperfect

treatment of a subject may have worn a different appearance in the age of Aristotle. To plan out a treatise so that every part should throw a light upon every other part was a rare achievement in ancient Greek literature. At any rate we may remark that the Poetics of Aristotle and the last book of the Politics, whether finished or unfinished, perfect or imperfect, have exercised a vast influence on all succeeding writers. The truth is that unity or completeness was the last quality which an ancient writer attained, partly from the dearth of materials, and also from the meagreness of thought in the beginnings of philosophy. His conceptions were rough-hewn. The original force of them was not yet completely subdued by the art of rhetoric; and when rhetoric became the form of Greek literature, the originality disappeared.

BOOK VIII.

Education should be national and should be liberal: two chief branches of it, music and gymnastic: how leisure should be employed: the effects of music and the mode of studying it: the lower and the higher kinds.

Every one will admit that education is the chief business of c. 1.
the legislator; and that he has to adapt his citizens to the form of government under which they live. They must be all trained in virtue; and the training should not be individual or private, but public and the same for all. No one of the citizens belongs to himself; each of them is a part of the state, and the care of each part is inseparable from the care of the whole.

That education should be an affair of state is denied by no c. 2.
one; but mankind are not equally agreed about the things to be taught:—should education be intellectual or moral? should the useful in life, or should virtue, or should knowledge of the higher sort be our aim? Neither are they any more agreed about the means [as indeed might be expected when they differ so widely about the ends]. Some useful things should be taught, but not those vulgar arts which deform the body, nor yet those paid occupations which absorb and degrade the mind. Even the

liberal arts should only be carried to a certain extent. The object too makes a difference; a man will perform a menial office for himself or his friends which he would not do for other people (cp. vii. 14, § 7).

c. 3. Education is commonly divided into four branches, 1) reading and writing, 2) gymnastic exercises, 3) music, to which some add a fourth, 4) drawing. Reading, writing, drawing, all have some practical purpose, and gymnastics are said to impart courage. Music is cultivated in our own day chiefly for the sake of pleasure, but was formerly included in education, and rightly. Nature demands that we should both work well and use leisure well, and leisure is better than work. But we ought not to be idle; and the question arises—'How shall we employ our leisure?' Not in mere amusement, clearly. Yet he who works hard must have relaxation. Therefore we should at suitable times introduce amusements, and they should be the medicines of the soul by which we obtain rest. This kind of relaxation varies according to the habits of individuals; the pleasure of the best man is the best and springs from the best. It is clear, then, that there are branches of study which add to the enjoyment of leisure, and these are to be valued for their own sake. And music was admitted by our fathers into education, not, like reading and writing, on the ground either of necessity or utility, but with a view to intellectual enjoyment in leisure. The practical branches of education, such as drawing, reading, and writing, ought not to be neglected, but they should be studied with a higher purpose; for example, drawing may give the learners a sense of beauty. To be always seeking after the useful does not become free and exalted minds.

The atmosphere of perplexity and controversy which envelopes Aristotle's other writings upon Ethics and Politics and is characteristic of his age and school, also surrounds his discussion of education. He cannot advance a step without stumbling upon a dispute. Is education to be moral or intellectual, useful or noble? Is the received education the best, or are we to seek for a more excellent way? How are leisure and work related to each

other? No distinct answer is given to these questions, which are almost immediately superseded by other questions. We are still in the stage of enquiry, and have not attained to order and light. We gather as the final result that education must be noble as well as useful, and that these two are not absolutely divided; for things which are useful may be taught in a spirit which ennobles them.

The education of the body should precede that of the mind, and c. 4.
therefore young boys must begin with the trainer and wrestling-master. [Here Aristotle diverges from Plato, who thinks that the mind must be trained before the body.] But we should avoid the error of the Lacedaemonians, who brutalize their children by laborious exercises, thinking to make them courageous. They forget that education is not directed to any single end, and that true courage is always associated with a gentle and noble character. Their system has been a complete failure. There was a time when the Lacedaemonians were the first people in Hellas; and this pre-eminence they won by their superior training, but now that others train, they are beaten both in war and in gymnastics. They must be judged from what they are, not from what they have been. That the young should be trained in light exercises is a principle generally admitted, but they should not be overtasked. The evil of too much early training is proved by the example of the Olympic victors, who have rarely gained the prize both as men and boys. When boyhood is over, three years should be spent in other studies; the period of life which follows may then be devoted to hard exercises and strict regimen. Care should be taken not to work mind and body at the same time.

There are many striking observations scattered up and down in the Eighth Book. What can be better than the remark that to be always seeking after the useful does not become free and exalted souls? Or that in education habit must go before reason and the body before the mind? Or the idea of noble dangers, and a courage to be associated with a gentle and lion-like temper? Or the acute remark that the evil of excessive training in early life is

proved by the example of the Olympic victors, for not more than two or three of them have gained a prize both as boys and men? Or the common-sense rule that men ought not to labour at the same time with their minds and with their bodies?

c. 5. Music is commonly supposed to be learnt either for amusement, or for the training of the mind and character, or for intellectual enjoyment in leisure. But learning is a serious business, and therefore music cannot be taught to youth simply as an amusement, and the intellectual employment of leisure is only suitable to full-grown men. It may be asked why in any case should we learn to play and sing ourselves when we can hear professional musicians who sing and play far better? Like the Lacedaemonians, we may be good judges of music and yet not performers. Zeus does not play or sing to the Gods; and no gentleman would play or sing [in public] unless he were intoxicated.

Not to enlarge further on this controversy, we will consider the other question: Is music an amusement, or an instrument of training, or an intellectual enjoyment? All men agree that music is a solace and refreshment; a noble pleasure which they may enjoy when, engaged in some high pursuit, they would rest by the way. And with a view to relaxation, as well as to some further good, the young should be trained in it. Yet it may also happen that the means may be converted into an end, because the end contains an element of pleasure, and so the lower takes the place of the higher. Now music is both a solace and a recreation. And who can say that, having this use, it may not also have a higher one? For it enters into and forms the soul; virtue and vice are represented by melody and rhythm, and the feeling aroused by the imitation is not far removed from the same feeling about realities. No other sensations are expressive of character equally with those of hearing, although objects of sight, such as paintings and statues, exercise in a lesser degree the same power. Each of the modes affects the soul in a peculiar way; the Mixolydian makes men sad and grave,—the relaxed harmonies slacken and weaken, the Dorian compose and strengthen, the mind; the Phrygian mode inspires passion. Rhythms, too, have a character, some of rest, others of

motion; and of the latter some have a more vulgar, others a nobler, movement. Seeing the great power of music, we cannot afford to neglect the use of it in education. It is suited to the time of youth; we have in us an affinity to harmonies and rhythms which makes some philosophers say that the soul is, or contains, harmony.

But the question has not yet been determined 1) whether youth c. 6.
should be taught to sing and play themselves or not? Clearly their characters will be more influenced if they can play themselves; they will be better judges of music, and while they are growing up, music will be to them what the rattle is to very young children, and will keep them out of mischief. But they must not continue the study too far into life. A gentleman should not aim at acquiring the marvellous execution of the professor of music. But he should know enough to feel delight in simple and noble rhythms.

Musical instruments should be simple and adapted to a simple style of music. The flute and the harp must be rejected. The flute requires too much skill, and has not a good moral effect; it is too exciting; it also prevents the use of the voice, and is therefore an impediment to education. The ancients were right in forbidding it, although about the time of the Persian War, when a great educational movement arose in Hellas, the flute came into fashion. But soon a reaction took place, and the flute, together with various oddly-shaped, old-fashioned instruments, was again banished. There is truth in the old myth which tells how Athene, after inventing the flute, threw it away, not approving of an instrument which distorted the features. That was a pleasing fancy of ancient mythology. But with still more reason may the wise goddess be supposed to have rejected it because it contributed nothing to the mind.

Professional music, then,—that is to say, the music which is performed in contests and is adapted to the taste of the audience, who are vulgar themselves and vulgarize the performers,—is unsuited to education, and should therefore be prohibited by us.

Lastly, we have to consider what melodies and rhythms shall be c. 7.
employed in education. Melodies have been divided into ethical

melodies, melodies of action, and inspiring melodies. Accepting these divisions, we further maintain that music should be studied with three objects,—1) education, 2) purification (of which we will explain the meaning when we treat of poetry), 3) intellectual enjoyment. And in education ethical melodies are to be preferred, but we may listen to the others. For men are variously affected by pity, fear, enthusiasm, and the various melodies corresponding to these feelings lighten and deliver the soul. The freeman will desire to hear the nobler sort of melodies at the theatre, but for the amusement of artisans and slaves the lower kinds may be also admitted. Plato in the Republic wishes to retain only the Dorian and Phrygian modes, although he rejects the flute, which is to other musical instruments what the Phrygian is to other modes. He is wrong in retaining the Phrygian, which is exciting and emotional; he is equally wrong in excluding the Lydian, which is better adapted to old men and to children of tender years than the severer melodies; and he is inconsistent with himself in keeping the Phrygian mode when he rejects the flute. The Dorian is grave and manly, and therefore especially suited to education. Two principles should be always kept in view, What is possible and What is becoming; yet even these are relative to age, the relaxed song of the old will naturally differ from the severer strain of youth. These two principles, to which may be added a third, viz. the mean, lie at the foundation of education.

One of the Aristotelian ideas which we have a difficulty in translating into English words and modes of thought is σχολὴ or ἡ ἐν σχολῇ διαγωγή. To us leisure means hardly more than the absence of occupation, the necessary alternation of play with work. By the Greek, σχολὴ was regarded as the condition of a gentleman. In Aristotle the notion is still further idealized, for he seems to regard it as an internal state in which the intellect, free from the cares of practical life, energizes or reposes in the consciousness of truth. To such an elevation of the soul, music, in which the mind through the ear receives the mathematical proportions of harmony and rhythm, lends the greatest aid. Some old Pythagorean feeling, exaggerated by fancy and tradition, enters into all this; but we also

know by experience how, when listening to the tones of the organ, strange but undefined thoughts arise in our minds,—we feel better than ourselves, and are caught up into a sort of heaven,—and we know also that those who have learnt in their youth to play on an instrument are much better able to realize the power of music than the uninstructed listener, who nevertheless, like the Lacedaemonians, may not be a bad judge of the style of music. We agree with Aristotle that marvels of execution may very well be dispensed with, if simple and noble rhythms are retained. The ancient Greek music was devoid of harmony in the modern sense, but the beauty of music, as of poetry, lies not only in subtle adjustments of notes or words, but much more in simplicity, in purity, in sweetness. There was a nearer connexion between poetry and music than among ourselves; for the metre of the words coincided with the time of the music. The instrument was secondary, not primary; the human voice was the dominant or prevailing tone in the performance. The choric lays of Æschylus or Sophocles were heard above the Dorian and Phrygian modes which kept measure with them. There was some combination of mind and sense, some sweet influence falling melodiously on the ear, and 'finding a way to the inner place of the soul' (Plato), which we fail to conceive. And since Greek music can no longer be performed, 'married to immortal verse,' with its accompaniments of dance and song, and the modes of it are unfamiliar to us and not ennobled by national and religious associations, we shall always continue to think that the language of the Greeks about music is exaggerated and unreal.

UNIV. OF CALIFORNIA

THE POLITICS.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

BOOK I.

Ed. Bekker, 1252 a. EVERY state is a community of some kind, and every community is established with a view to some good; for mankind always act in order to obtain that which they think good. But, if all communities aim at some good, the state or political community, which is the highest of all, and which embraces all the rest, aims, and in a greater degree than any other, at the highest good. I. 1. The state being the highest community aims at the highest good.

2 Now there is an erroneous opinion[a] that a statesman, king, householder, and master are the same, and that they differ, not in kind, but only in the number of their subjects. For example, the ruler over a few is called a master; over more, the manager of a household; over a still larger number, a statesman or king, as if there were no difference between a great household and a small state. The distinction which is made between the king and the statesman is as follows: When the government is personal, the ruler is a king; when, according to the principles of the political science, the citizens rule and are ruled in turn, then he is called a statesman. Plato treated the difference between household, royal, and political rule as a difference only of degree.

3 But all this is a mistake; for governments differ in kind, as will be evident to any one who considers the matter according to the method[b] which has hitherto guided us. As in other departments of science, so in politics, the compound should always be resolved into the simple elements or least parts of the whole. We must But it is really a difference in kind, as will be clear if we resolve the state into its elements.

[a] Cp. Plato Politicus, 258 E foll.

[b] Cp. c. 8. § 1.

I. 1. therefore look at the elements of which the state is composed, in order that we may see [a] in what they differ from one another, and whether any scientific distinction can be drawn between the different kinds of rule [a].

2. He who thus considers things in their first growth and origin, whether a state or anything else, will obtain the clearest view of them. In the first place (1) there must be a union of those who cannot exist without each other; for example, of male and female, that the race may continue; and this is a union which is formed, not of deliberate purpose, but because, in common with other animals and with plants, mankind have a natural desire to leave behind them an image of themselves. And (2) there must be a union of natural ruler and subject, that both may be preserved. For he who can foresee with his mind is by nature intended to be lord and master, and he who can work with his body is a subject, and by nature a slave; hence master and slave have the same interest. Nature, however, has distinguished between the female and the slave. For she is not niggardly, like the smith who fashions the Delphian knife for many uses; she makes each thing for a single use, and every instrument is best made when intended for one and not for many uses. But among barbarians no distinction is made between women and slaves, because there is no natural ruler among them: they are a community of slaves, male and female. Wherefore the poets say,—

(1) Union of male and female.

(2) Of ruler and subject.

2

3

1252b.

4

'It is meet that Hellenes should rule over barbarians [b];'

as if they thought that the barbarian and the slave were by nature one.

The family the first stage of society.

Out of these two relationships between man and woman, master and slave, the family first arises, and Hesiod is right when he says,— 5

'First house and wife and an ox for the plough [c];'

[a] Or, with Bernays, 'how the different kinds of rule differ from one another, and generally whether any scientific result can be attained about each one of them.'

[b] Eurip. Iphig. in Aulid. 1400.

[c] Op. et Di. 405.

for the ox is the poor man's slave. The family is the association established by nature for the supply of men's every day wants, and the members of it are called by Charondas 'companions of the cupboard' [ὁμοσιπόους], and by Epimenides the Cretan, '[a]companions of the manger[a]' [ὁμοκάπους]. But when several families are united, and the association aims at something more than the supply of daily needs, then comes into existence the 6 village. And the most natural form of the village appears to be that of a colony from the family, composed of the children and grandchildren, who are said to be 'suckled with the same milk.' And this is the reason why Hellenic states were originally governed by kings; because the Hellenes were under royal rule before they came together, as the barbarians still are. Every family is ruled by the eldest, and therefore in the colonies of the family the kingly form of government prevailed 7 because they were of the same blood. As Homer says [of the Cyclopes]:—

I. 2.

The village the next.

'Each one gives law to his children and to his wives[b].'

For they lived dispersedly, as was the manner in ancient times. Wherefore men say that the Gods have a king, because they themselves either are or were in ancient times under the rule of a king. For they imagine, not only the forms of the Gods, but their ways of life to be like their own.

8 When several villages are united in a single community, perfect and large enough to be nearly or quite self-sufficing, the state comes into existence, originating in the bare needs of life, and continuing in existence for the sake of a good life. And therefore, if the earlier forms of society are natural, so is the state, for it is the end of them, and the [completed] nature is the end. For what each thing is when fully developed, we call its nature, whether we are speaking of a man, a horse, or a family.

The city or state the third and highest.

[a] Or, reading with the old translator (William of Moerbek) ὁμοκάπνους, 'companions of the hearth.'

[b] Od. ix. 114, quoted by Plato Laws, iii. 680, and in N. Eth. x. 9. § 13.

I. 2. Besides, the final cause and end of a thing is the best, 9
and to be self-sufficing is the end and the best. 1253a.

The state exists by nature.

Hence it is evident that the state is a creation of nature, and that man is by nature a political animal. And he who by nature and not by mere accident is without a state, is either above humanity, or below it; he is the

'Tribeless, lawless, hearthless one,'

whom Homer[a] denounces—the outcast who is a lover of 10
war; he may be compared to a bird which flies alone.

Man, having the gift of speech and the sense of right and wrong, is by nature a political animal.

Now the reason why man is more of a political animal than bees or any other gregarious animals is evident. Nature, as we often say, makes nothing in vain[b], and man is the only animal whom she has endowed with the gift of speech[c]. And whereas mere 11
sound is but an indication of pleasure or pain, and is therefore found in other animals (for their nature attains to the perception of pleasure and pain and the intimation of them to one another, and no further), the power of speech is intended to set forth the expedient and inexpedient, and likewise the just and the unjust. And it is a 12
characteristic of man that he alone has any sense of good and evil, of just and unjust, and the association of living beings who have this sense makes a family and a state.

The whole is prior to the part, the state to the family and individual.

Thus the state is by nature clearly prior to the family and to the individual, since the whole is of necessity 13
prior to the part; for example, if the whole body be destroyed, there will be no foot or hand, except in an equivocal sense, as we might speak of a stone hand; for when destroyed the hand will be no better. But things are defined by their working and power; and we ought not to say that they are the same when they are no longer the same, but only that they have the same name. The 14
proof that the state is a creation of nature and prior to the individual is that the individual, when isolated, is not self-sufficing; and therefore he is like a part in relation to the whole. But he who is unable to live in society, or who has no need because he is sufficient for himself, must

[a] Il. ix. 63. [b] Cp. c. 8. § 12. [c] Cp. vii. 13. § 12.

15 be either a beast or a god: he is no part of a state. A social instinct is implanted in all men by nature, and yet he who first founded the state was the greatest of benefactors. For man, when perfected, is the best of animals, but, when separated from law and justice, he 16 is the worst of all; since armed injustice is the more dangerous, and he is equipped at birth with the arms of intelligence and with moral qualities which he may use for the worst ends. Wherefore, if he have not virtue, he is the most unholy and the most savage of animals, and the most full of lust and gluttony. But justice is the bond of men in states, and the administration of justice, which is the determination of what is just[a], is the principle of order in political society. I. 2.

Seeing then that the state is made up of households, before speaking of the state, we must speak of the 1253 b. [b] management of the household[b]. The parts of the household are the persons who compose it, and a complete household consists of slaves and freemen. Now we should begin by examining everything in its least elements; and the first and least parts of a family are master and slave, husband and wife, father and children. We have therefore to consider what each of these three 2 relations is and ought to be:—I mean the relation of master and servant, of husband and wife, and thirdly of parent and child. [I say *γαμική* and *τεκνοποιητική*, there being no words for the two latter notions which ade- 3 quately represent them.] And there is another element of a household, the so-called art of money-making, which, according to some, is identical with household management, according to others, a principal part of it; the nature of this art will also have to be considered by us. 3. The family or household. Its parts.

Let us first speak of master and slave, looking to the needs of practical life and also seeking to attain some 4 better theory of their relation than exists at present. For some are of opinion that the rule of a master is a science, Master and slave.

[a] Cp. N. Eth. v. 6. § 4.

[b] Reading with the MSS. *οἰκονομίας*.

I. 3. and that the management of a household, and the mastership of slaves, and the political and royal rule, as I was saying at the outset[a], are all the same. Others affirm that the rule of a master over slaves is contrary to nature, and that the distinction between slave and freeman exists by law only, and not by nature; and being an interference with nature is therefore unjust.

4. Property is a part of the household, and therefore the art of acquiring property is a part of the art of managing the household; for no man can live well, or indeed live at all, unless he be provided with necessaries. And as in the arts which have a definite sphere the workers must have their own proper instruments for the accomplishment of their work, so it is in the management of a household. Now, instruments are of various sorts; 2 some are living, others lifeless; in the rudder, the pilot of a ship has a lifeless, in the look-out man, a living instrument; for in the arts the servant is a kind of instrument. Thus, too, a possession is an instrument for maintaining life. And so, in the arrangement of the family, a slave is a living possession, and property a number of such instruments; and the servant is himself an instrument, which takes precedence of all other instruments. For if every instrument could accom- 3 plish its own work, obeying or anticipating the will of others, like the statues of Daedalus, or the tripods of Hephaestus, which, says the poet[b],

Property includes instruments lifeless and living.

The slave is a living instrument.

'of their own accord entered the assembly of the Gods;'

if, in like manner, the shuttle would weave and the plectrum touch the lyre without a hand to guide them, chief workmen would not want servants, nor masters slaves. Here, however, another distinction must be drawn: the in- 1254a. 4 struments commonly so called are instruments of production, whilst a possession is an instrument of action. The shuttle, for example, is not only of use; but something

[a] Plato in Pol. 258 E foll., referred to already in c. 1. § 2.
[b] Hom. Il. xviii. 376.

else is made by it, whereas of a garment or of a bed there is only the use. Further, as production and action are different in kind, and both require instruments, the instruments which they employ must likewise differ in kind. But life is action and not production, and therefore the slave is the minister of action [for he ministers to his master's life]. Again, a possession is spoken of as a part is spoken of; for the part is not only a part of something else, but wholly belongs to it; and this is also true of a possession. The master is only the master of the slave; he does not belong to him, whereas the slave is not only the slave of his master, but wholly belongs to him. Hence we see what is the nature and office of a slave; he who is by nature not his own but another's and yet a man, is by nature a slave; and he may be said to belong to another who, being a human being, is also a possession. And a possession may be defined as an instrument of action, separable from the possessor.

I. 4. His master's life is a life of action, to which he ministers.

6 Who is the slave by nature?

5. Is there a slave by nature?

But is there any one thus intended by nature to be a slave, and for whom such a condition is expedient and right, or rather is not all slavery a violation of nature?

There is no difficulty in answering this question, on 2 grounds both of reason and of fact. For that some should rule, and others be ruled is a thing, not only necessary, but expedient; from the hour of their birth, some are marked out for subjection, others for rule.

And whereas there are many kinds both of rulers and subjects, that rule is the better which is exercised over better subjects—for example, to rule over men is better 3 than to rule over wild beasts. The work is better which is executed by better workmen; and where one man rules and another is ruled, they may be said to have a work. In all things which form a composite whole and which are made up of parts, whether continuous or discrete, a distinction between the ruling and the subject element 4 comes to light. Such a duality exists in living creatures, but not in them only; it originates in the constitution of

I. 5. the universe; even in things which have no life, there is a ruling principle, as [a]in musical harmony[a]. But we are wandering from the subject. We will, therefore, restrict ourselves to the living creature which, in the first place, consists of soul and body: and of these two, the one is by nature the ruler, and the other the subject. But then we must look for the intentions of nature in things which retain their nature, and not in things which are corrupted. And therefore we must study the man who is in the most perfect state both of body and soul, for in him we shall see the true relation of the two; although in bad or corrupted natures the body will often appear to rule over the soul, because they are in an evil and unnatural condition. First then we may observe in living creatures both a despotical and a constitutional rule; for the soul rules the body with a despotical rule, whereas the intellect rules the appetites with a constitutional and royal rule. And it is clear that the rule of the soul over the body, and of the mind and the rational element over the passionate is natural and expedient; whereas the equality of the two or the rule of the inferior is always hurtful. The same holds good of animals as well as of men; for tame animals have a better nature than wild, and all tame animals are better off when they are ruled by man; for then they are preserved. Again, the male is by nature superior, and the female inferior; and the one rules, and the other is ruled; this principle, of necessity, extends to all mankind. Where then there is such a difference as that between soul and body, or between men and animals (as in the case of those whose business is to use their body, and who can do nothing better), the lower sort are by nature slaves, and it is better for them as for all inferiors that they should be under the rule of a master. For he who can be, and therefore is another's, and he who participates in reason enough to apprehend, but not to have, reason, is a slave by nature. Whereas the lower animals cannot even apprehend

Everywhere in nature there is the distinction of higher and lower, of ruler and ruled.

5

1254 b.

6

7

8

9

[a] Or, 'of harmony [in music].'

reason; they obey their instincts. And indeed the use made of slaves and of tame animals is not very different; for both with their bodies minister to the needs of life. I. 5. There are slaves by nature and freemen by nature, but the difference is not always marked.

10 Nature would like to distinguish between the bodies of freemen and slaves, making the one strong for servile labour, the other upright, and although useless for such services, useful for political life in the arts both of war and peace. But this does not hold universally: for some slaves have the souls and others have the bodies of freemen. And doubtless if men differed from one another in the mere forms of their bodies as much as the statues of the Gods do from men, all would acknowledge that the inferior class should be slaves of the superior.

11 And if there is a difference in the body, how much more in the soul? but the beauty of the body is seen, whereas
1255a. the beauty of the soul is not seen. It is clear, then, that some men are by nature free, and others slaves, and that for these latter slavery is both expedient and right.

But that those who take the opposite view have in a certain way right on their side, may be easily seen. For the words slavery and slave are used in two senses. There is a slave or slavery by law as well as by nature. The law of which I speak is a sort of convention, according to which whatever is taken in war is supposed to 2 belong to the victors. But this right many jurists impeach, as they would an orator who brought forward an unconstitutional measure: they detest the notion that, because one man has the power of doing violence and is superior in brute strength, another shall be his slave and subject. Even among philosophers there is a dif- 3 ference of opinion. The origin of the dispute, and the reason why the arguments cross, is as follows: Virtue, when furnished with means, may be deemed to have the greatest power of doing violence: and as superior power is only found where there is superior excellence of some kind, power is thought to imply virtue. But does 4 it likewise imply justice?—that is the question. And, in order to make a distinction between them, some

6. The view that slavery is contrary to nature examined.

Might and right, how related.

I. 6. assert that justice is benevolence: to which others reply that justice is nothing more than the rule of a superior. If the two views are regarded as antagonistic and exclusive [i. e. if the notion that justice is benevolence excludes the idea of a just rule of a superior], the alternative [viz. that no one should rule over others[a]] has no force or plausibility, because it implies that not even the superior in virtue ought to rule, or be master. Some, 5

Slavery of captives taken in war.

clinging, as they think, to a principle of justice (for law and custom are a sort of justice), assume that slavery in war is justified by law, but they are not consistent. For what if the cause of the war be unjust? No one would ever say that he is a slave who is unworthy to be a slave. Were this the case, men of the highest rank would be slaves and the children of slaves if they or their parents chance to have been taken captive and

Greek and barbarian.

sold. Wherefore Hellenes do not like to call themselves 6 slaves, but confine the term to barbarians. Yet, in using this language, they really mean the natural slave of whom we spoke at first; for it must be admitted that some are slaves everywhere, others nowhere. The 7 same principle applies to nobility. Hellenes regard themselves as noble everywhere, and not only in their own country, but they deem the barbarians noble only when at home, thereby implying that there are two sorts of nobility and freedom, the one absolute, the other relative. The Helen of Theodectes says:—

> 'Who would presume to call me servant who am on both sides sprung from the stem of the Gods?'

What does this mean but that they distinguish freedom 8 and slavery, noble and humble birth, by the two principles of good and evil? They think that as men and 1255 b. animals beget men and animals, so from good men a good man springs. But this is what nature, though she may intend it, cannot always accomplish.

We see then that there is some foundation for this 9

[a] Cp. § 2.

difference of opinion, and that all are not either slaves by nature or freemen by nature, and also that there is in some cases a marked distinction between the two classes, rendering it expedient and right for the one to be slaves and the others to be masters: the one practising obedience, the others exercising the authority which nature intended them to have. The abuse of this authority is injurious to both; for the interests of part and whole[a], of body and soul, are the same, and the slave is a part of the master, a living but separated part of his bodily frame. Where the relation between them is natural they are friends and have a common interest, but where it rests merely on law and force the reverse is true. I. 6.

7. The rule of the household is not a science, though two rather inferior sciences enter into it.

The previous remarks are quite enough to show that the rule of a master is not a constitutional rule, and therefore that all the different kinds of rule are not, as some affirm, the same with each other[b]. For there is one rule exercised over subjects who are by nature free, another over subjects who are by nature slaves. The rule of a household is a monarchy, for every house is under one head: whereas constitutional rule is a government of freemen and equals. The master is not called a master because he has science, but because he is of a certain character, and the same remark applies to the slave and the freeman. Still there may be a science for the master and a science for the slave. The science of the slave would be such as the man of Syracuse taught, who made money by instructing slaves in their ordinary duties. And such a knowledge may be carried further, so as to include cookery and similar menial arts. For some duties are of the more necessary, others of the more honourable sort; as the proverb says, 'slave before slave, master before master.' But all such branches of knowledge are servile. There is likewise a science of

(1) The science of the slave.

(2) The science

[a] Cp. c. 4. § 5.

[b] Plato Polit. 258 E foll., referred to already in c. 1. § 2.

I. 7. of the master. the master, which teaches the use of slaves; for the master as such is concerned, not with the acquisition, but with the use of them. Yet this so-called science is not anything great or wonderful; for the master need only know how to order that which the slave must know how to execute. Hence those who are in a position which places them above toil, have stewards who attend to their households while they occupy themselves with philosophy or with politics. But the art of acquiring slaves, I mean of justly acquiring them, differs both from the art of the master and the art of the slave, being a species of hunting or war[a]. Enough of the distinction between master and slave.

8. Chrematistic, or the art of money-making. How related to the art of managing a household? Let us now inquire into property generally, and into the art of money-making, in accordance with our usual method [of resolving a whole into its parts[b]], for a slave has been shown to be a part of property. The first question is whether the art of money-making is the same with the art of managing a household or a part of it, or instrumental to it; and if the last, whether in the way that the art of making shuttles is instrumental to the art of weaving, or in the way that the casting of bronze is instrumental to the art of the statuary, for they are not instrumental in the same way, but the one provides tools and the other material; and by material I mean the substratum out of which any work is made; thus wool is the material of the weaver, bronze of the statuary. Now it is easy to see that the art of household management is not identical with the art of money-making, for the one uses the material which the other provides. And the art which uses household stores can be no other than the art of household management. There is, however, a doubt whether the art of money-making is a part of household management or a distinct art. [They appear to be connected]; for the money-maker has to consider whence money and property can be procured; 1256a 2 3

[a] Cp. vii. 14. § 21.

[b] Cp. c. 1. § 3.

but there are many sorts of property and wealth:— I. 8.
there is husbandry and the care and provision of food
in general; are these parts of the money-making art
4 or distinct arts? Again, there are many sorts of food, Why men lead different kinds of lives.
and therefore there are many kinds of lives both of
animals and men; they must all have food, and the
differences in their food have made differences in their
5 ways of life. For of beasts, some are gregarious, others
are solitary; they live in the way which is best adapted
to sustain them, accordingly as they are carnivorous or
herbivorous or omnivorous: and their habits are deter-
mined for them by nature in such a manner that they
may obtain with greater facility the food of their choice.
But, as different individuals have different tastes, the
same things are not naturally pleasant to all of them;
and therefore the lives of carnivorous or herbivorous
6 animals further differ among themselves. In the lives
of men too there is a great difference. The laziest are Nomadic life.
shepherds, who lead an idle life, and get their sub-
sistence without trouble from tame animals; their flocks
having to wander from place to place in search of pas-
ture, they are compelled to follow them, cultivating a
7 sort of living farm. Others support themselves by hunt- Hunting.
ing, which is of different kinds. Some, for example, are
pirates, others, who dwell near lakes or marshes or rivers
or a sea in which there are fish, are fishermen, and
others live by the pursuit of birds or wild beasts. The Agriculture.
greater number obtain a living from the fruits of the
8 soil. Such are the modes of subsistence which prevail
among those [a]whose industry is employed immediately
upon the products of nature[a], and whose food is not
1256b. acquired by exchange and retail trade—there is the
shepherd, the husbandman, the pirate, the fisherman, the
hunter. Some gain a comfortable maintenance out of
two employments, eking out the deficiencies of one of
them by another: thus the life of a shepherd may be

[a] Or, 'whose labour is personal.'

I. 8. combined with that of a brigand, the life of a farmer with that of a hunter. Other modes of life are similarly 9
combined in any way which the needs of men may re-
Nature's provision for the maintenance of life.
quire. Property, in the sense of a bare livelihood, seems to be given by nature herself to all, both when they are 10
first born, and when they are grown up. For some animals bring forth, together with their offspring, so much food as will last until they are able to supply themselves; of this the vermiparous or oviparous animals are an instance; and the viviparous animals have up to a certain time a supply of food for their young in themselves, which is called milk. In like manner we may 11
infer that, after the birth of animals, plants exist for their sake, and that the other animals exist for the sake of man, the tame for use and food, the wild, if not all, at least the greater part of them, for food, and for the provision of clothing and various instruments. Now if 12
nature makes nothing incomplete, and nothing in vain, the inference must be that she has made all animals and plants for the sake of man. And so, in one point of view, the art of war is a natural art of acquisition, for it includes hunting, an art which we ought to practise against wild beasts, and against men who, though intended by nature to be governed, will not submit; for war of such a kind is naturally just[a].

The natural mode of acquiring property.
Of the art of acquisition then there is one kind[b] which 13
is natural and is a part of the management of a household[b]. Either we must suppose the necessaries of life to exist previously, or the art of household management must provide a store of them for the common use of the family or state. They are the elements of true wealth; 14
for the amount of property which is needed for a good life is not unlimited, although Solon in one of his poems says that

'No bound to riches has been fixed for man[c].'

[a] Cp. c. 7. § 5, and vii. 14. § 21.

[b] Or, with Bernays, 'which by nature is a part of the management of a household.'

[c] Bergk, Poet. Lyr. Solon, iv. 12. v. 71.

But there is a boundary fixed, just as there is in the I. 8.
arts; for the instruments of any art are never unlimited, either in number or size, and wealth may be defined as a number of instruments to be used in a household or in a state. And so we see that there is a natural art of acquisition which is practised by managers of households and by statesmen, and what is the reason of this.

There is another variety of the art of acquisition which 9.
is commonly and rightly called the art of making money, The non-natural mode, or money-making.
and has in fact suggested the notion that wealth and property have no limit. Being nearly connected with the preceding, it is often identified with it. But though they are not very different, neither are they the same. The kind already described is given by nature, the other is gained by experience and art.

Let us begin our discussion of the question with the following considerations:—

Of everything which we possess there are two uses: Value in use and value in exchange.
both belong to the thing as such, but not in the same manner, for one is the proper, and the other the improper or secondary use of it. For example, a shoe is used for wear, and is used for exchange; both are uses of the shoe. He who gives a shoe in exchange for money or food to him who wants one, does indeed use the shoe as a shoe, but this is not its proper or primary purpose, for a shoe is not made to be an object of barter. The same may be said of all possessions, for the art of exchange extends to all of them, and it arises at first in a natural manner from the circumstance that some have too little, others too much. Hence we may infer that retail trade is not a natural part of the art of money-making; had it been so, men would have ceased to exchange when they had enough. And in the first community, which is the family, this art is obviously of no use, but only begins to be useful when the society increases. For the members of the family originally had all things in common; in a more divided state of society

I. 9. they [a] still shared in many things, but they were different things [a] which they had to give in exchange for what they wanted, a kind of barter which is still practised among barbarous nations who exchange with one another 6
the necessaries of life and nothing more; giving and receiving wine, for example, in exchange for corn and the like. This sort of barter is not part of the money-making art and is not contrary to nature, but is needed for the satisfaction of men's natural wants. The other 7
or more complex form of exchange grew out of the
Invention of money simpler. When the inhabitants of one country became more dependent on those of another, and they imported what they needed, and exported the surplus, money necessarily came into use. For the various necessaries 8
of life are not easily carried about, and hence men agreed to employ in their dealings with each other something which was intrinsically useful and easily applicable to the purposes of life, for example, iron, silver,
and of coin. and the like. Of this the value was at first measured by size and weight, but in process of time they put a stamp upon it, to save the trouble of weighing and to mark the value.

Retail trade. When the use of coin had once been discovered, out of 1257 b.
the barter of necessary articles arose the other art of 9
money-making, namely, retail trade; which was at first probably a simple matter, but became more complicated as soon as men learned by experience whence and by what exchanges the greatest profit might be made. Originating in the use of coin, the art of money-making 10
is generally thought to be chiefly concerned with it, and to be the art which produces wealth and money;
Two views about money. having to consider how they may be accumulated. Indeed, wealth is assumed by many to be only a quantity of coin, because the art of money-making and retail trade are concerned with coin. Others maintain that 11
coined money is a mere sham, a thing not natural,

[a] Or, more simply, 'shared in many more things.'

but conventional only, which would have no value or use for any of the purposes of daily life if another commodity were substituted by the users. And, indeed, he who is rich in coin may often be in want of necessary food. But how can that be wealth of which a man may have a great abundance and yet perish with hunger, like Midas in the fable, whose insatiable prayer turned everything that was set before him into gold? I. 9.

12 Men seek after a better notion of wealth and of the art of making money than the mere acquisition of coin, and they are right. For natural wealth and the natural art of money-making are a different thing; in their true form they are part of the management of a household; whereas retail trade is the art of producing wealth, not in every way, but by exchange. And it seems to be concerned with coin; for coin is the beginning of exchange and the measure or limit of it. And there is no bound to the wealth which springs from this art of money-making[a]. As in the art of medicine there is no limit to the pursuit of health, and as in the other arts there is no limit to the pursuit of their several ends, for they aim at accomplishing their ends to the uttermost; (but of the means there is a limit, for the end is always the limit), so, too, in this art of money-making there is no limit of the end, which is wealth of the spurious kind, and the acquisition of money. But the art of household management has a limit; the unlimited acquisition of money is not its business. And, therefore, in one point of view, all wealth must have a limit; nevertheless, as a matter of fact, we find the opposite to be the case; for all money-makers increase their hoard of coin without limit. The source of the confusion is the near connexion between the two kinds of money-making; in either, the instrument [i.e. wealth] is the same, although the use is different, and so they pass into one another; for each is a use of the same property[b], but with a difference: accumulation is the end in the one case, but there is a further end in the

Distinction between natural wealth and the mere acquisition of coin.

In the arts the means are limited by the end, the end is unlimited: so in money-making, but not in household management.

[a] Cp. c. 8. § 14.

[b] Reading κτήσεως χρῆσις.

I. 9. other. Hence some persons are led to believe that making money is the object of household management, and the whole idea of their lives is that they ought either to increase their money without limit, or at any rate not to lose it. The origin of this disposition in men is that they 16
are intent upon living only, and not upon living well; 1258a.
and, as their desires are unlimited, they also desire that the means of gratifying them should be without limit. Even those who aim at a good life seek the means of obtaining bodily pleasures; and, since the enjoyment of these appears to depend on property, they are absorbed in making money: and so there arises the second species of money-making. For, as their enjoyment is in excess, 17
they seek an art which produces the excess of enjoyment; and, if they are not able to supply their pleasures by the art of money-making, they try other arts, using in turn every faculty in a manner contrary to nature. The quality of courage, for example, is not intended to make money, but to inspire confidence; neither is this the aim of the general's or of the physician's art; but the one aims at victory and the other at health. Nevertheless, some men turn every quality or art into 18
a means of making money; this they conceive to be the end, and to the promotion of the end all things must contribute.

Error of those who make wealth an end.

Thus, then, we have considered the art of money-making, which is unnecessary, and why men want it; and also the necessary art of money-making, which we have seen to be different from the other, and to be a natural part of the art of managing a household, concerned with the provision of food, not, however, like the former kind, unlimited, but having a limit.

10. And we have found the answer to our original question[a], Whether the art of money-making is the business of the manager of a household and of the statesman or not their business?—viz. that it is an art which is presupposed by them. For political science does not make

[a] Cp. c. 8. § 1.

men, but takes them from nature and uses them; and I. 10.
nature provides them with food from the element of earth, air, or sea. At this stage begins the duty of the manager of a household, who has to order the things
2 which nature supplies;—he may be compared to the weaver who has not to make but to use wool, and to know what sort of wool is good and serviceable or bad and unserviceable. Were this otherwise, it would be difficult to see why the art of money-making is a part of the management of a household and the art of medicine not; for surely the members of a household must have health just as they must have life or any other necessary.
3 And as from one point of view the master of the house and the ruler of the state have to consider about health, from another point of view not they but the physician; so in one way the art of household management, in another way the subordinate art, has to consider about money. But, strictly speaking, as I have already said, the means of life must be provided beforehand by nature; for the business of nature is to furnish food to that which is born, and the food of the offspring always
4 remains over in the parent[a]. Wherefore the art of making money out of fruits and animals is always natural.

Relation of money-making to the art of household management.

Of the two sorts of money-making one, as I have just said, is a part of household management, the other is retail trade: the former necessary and honourable, the
1258 b. latter a kind of exchange which is justly censured; for it is unnatural, and a mode by which men gain from one another. The most hated sort, and with the greatest reason, is usury, which makes a gain out of money itself,
5 and not from the natural use of it. For money was intended to be used in exchange, but not to increase at interest. And this term usury [τόκος], which means the birth of money from money, is applied to the breeding of money because the offspring resembles the parent. Wherefore of all modes of making money this is the most unnatural.

Retail trade.

Usury the breeding of money from money.

[a] Cp. c. 8. § 10.

I. 11. Practical classification of money-making.

Enough has been said about the theory of money-making; we will now proceed to the practical part. [a]The discussion of such matters is not unworthy of philosophy, but to be engaged in them practically is illiberal and irksome[a]. The useful parts of money-making are, first, the knowledge of live-stock,—which are most profitable, and where, and how,—as, for example, what sort of horses or sheep or oxen or any other animals are most likely to give a return. A man ought to know which of 2
these pay better than others, and which pay best in particular places, for some do better in one place and some in another. Secondly, husbandry, which may be either tillage or planting, and the keeping of bees and of fish, or fowl, or of any animals which may be useful to man. These are the divisions of the true or proper art of 3
money-making and come first. Of the other, which consists in exchange, the first and most important division is commerce (of which there are three kinds—commerce by sea, commerce by land, selling in shops—these again differing as they are safer or more profitable), the second is usury, the third, service for hire—of this, one 4
kind is employed in the mechanical arts, the other in unskilled and bodily labour. There is still a third sort of money-making intermediate between this and the first or natural mode which is partly natural, but is also concerned with exchange of the fruits and other products of the earth. Some of these latter, although they bear no fruit, are nevertheless profitable; for example, wood and minerals. The art of mining, by which minerals are 5
obtained, has many branches, for there are various kinds of things dug out of the earth. Of the several divisions of money-making I now speak generally; a minute consideration of them might be useful in practice, but it would be tiresome to dwell upon them at greater length now.

(1) The natural kind.

(2) Exchange.

(3) The intermediate kind.

Those occupations are most truly arts in which there 6

[a] Or, 'We are free to speculate about them, but in practice we are limited by circumstances.' (Bernays.)

is the least element of chance; they are the meanest in which the body is most deteriorated, the most servile in which there is the greatest use of the body, and the most illiberal in which there is the least need of excellence. I. 11.

7 Works have been written upon these subjects by various persons; for example, by Chares the Parian, and Apollodorus the Lemnian, who have treated of Tillage 1259a. and Planting, while others have treated of other branches; any one who cares for such matters may refer to their writings. It would be well also to collect the scattered stories of the ways in which individuals have succeeded in 8 amassing a fortune; for all this is useful to persons who value the art of making money. There is the anecdote of Thales the Milesian and his financial device, which involves a principle of universal application, but is attributed to him on account of his reputation for wisdom. Works on economic subjects. Story about Thales. How a philosopher once made a fortune.

9 He was reproached for his poverty, which was supposed to show that philosophy was of no use. According to the story, he knew by his skill in the stars while it was yet winter that there would be a great harvest of olives in the coming year; so, having a little money, he gave deposits for the use of all the olive-presses in Chios and Miletus, which he hired at a low price because no one bid against him. When the harvest-time came, and many wanted them all at once and of a sudden, he let them out at any rate which he pleased, and made a quantity of money. Thus he showed the world that philosophers can easily be rich if they like, but that their ambition 10 is of another sort. He is supposed to have given a striking proof of his wisdom, but, as I was saying, his device for getting money is of universal application, and is nothing but the creation of a monopoly. It is an art often practised by cities when they are in want of money; they make a monopoly of provisions. Monopoly.

11 There was a man of Sicily, who, having money deposited with him, bought up all the iron from the iron mines; afterwards, when the merchants from their various Story about a man of Sicily.

I. 11. markets came to buy, he was the only seller, and without much increasing the price he gained 200 per cent. Which when Dionysius heard, he told him that he might 12
take away his money, but that he must not remain at Syracuse, for he thought that the man had discovered a way of making money which was injurious to his own interests. He had the same idea[a] as Thales; they both contrived to create a monopoly for themselves. And 13
statesmen ought to know these things; for a state is often as much in want of money and of such devices for obtaining it as a household, or even more so; hence some public men devote themselves entirely to finance.

Monopoly applied to finance.

12. Of household management we have seen[b] that there are three parts—one is the rule of a master over slaves, which has been discussed already[c], another of a father, and the third of a husband. A husband and father rules over wife and children, both free, but the rule differs, the rule over his children being a royal, over his wife a 1259b.
constitutional rule. For although there may be exceptions to the order of nature, the male is by nature fitter for command than the female, just as the elder and full-grown is superior to the younger and more immature. But in most constitutional states the citizens 2
rule and are ruled by turns, for the idea of a constitutional state implies that the natures of the citizens are equal, and do not differ at all[d]. Nevertheless, when one rules and the other is ruled we endeavour to create a difference of outward forms and names and titles of respect, which may be illustrated by the saying of Amasis about his foot-pan[e]. The relation of the male 3
to the female is of this kind, but there the inequality is permanent. The rule of a father over his children is royal, for he receives both love and the respect due to age, exercising a kind of royal power. And therefore Homer has appropriately called Zeus 'father of Gods and men,' because he is the king of them all. For a king

Different kinds of rule within the household: (1) rule of master over slaves; (2) of father over children; (3) of husband over wife.

[a] Reading εὕρημα with Bernays. [b] Cp. c. 3. § 1. [c] Cp. c. 3–7.
[d] Cp. ii. 2. § 6; iii. 17. § 4. [e] Herod. ii. 172, and note on this passage.

is the natural superior of his subjects, but he should be of the same kin or kind with them, and such is the relation of elder and younger, of father and son. I. 12.

Thus it is clear that household management attends more to men than to the acquisition of inanimate things, and to human excellence more than to the excellence of property which we call wealth, and to the virtue of 13.

2 freemen more than to the virtue of slaves. A question may indeed be raised, whether there is any excellence at all in a slave beyond merely instrumental and ministerial qualities—whether he can have the virtues of temperance, courage, justice, and the like; or whether slaves possess only bodily and ministerial qualities. And, whichever

3 way we answer the question, a difficulty arises; for, if they have virtue, in what will they differ from freemen? On the other hand, since they are men and share in reason, it seems absurd to say that they have no virtue. A similar question may be raised about women and children, whether they too have virtues: ought a woman to be temperate and brave and just, and is a child to be called temperate, and intemperate, or not?

Has a slave virtue?

How far have women and children virtues?

4 So in general we may ask about the natural ruler, and the natural subject, whether they have the same or different virtues. For a noble nature is equally required in both, but if so, why should one of them always rule, and the other always be ruled? Nor can we say that this is a question of degree, for the difference between ruler and subject is a difference of kind, and therefore not of degree; yet how strange is the supposition that the one ought, and that the other ought not, to have

5 virtue! For if the ruler is intemperate and unjust, how 1260a. can he rule well? if the subject, how can he obey well? If he be licentious and cowardly, he will certainly not do his duty. It is evident, therefore, that both of them must have a share of virtue, but varying according

6 to their various natures. And this is at once indicated by the soul, in which one part naturally rules, and the other is subject, and the virtue of the ruler we maintain

The virtues of ruler and subject different.

Psychological parallel.

I. 13. to be different from that of the subject;—the one being the virtue of the rational, and the other of the irrational part. Now, it is obvious that the same principle applies generally, and therefore almost all things rule and are ruled according to nature. But the kind of rule differs; 7
—the freeman rules over the slave after another manner from that in which the male rules over the female, or the man over the child; although the parts of the soul are present in all of them, they are present in different degrees. For the slave has no deliberative faculty at all; the woman has, but it is [a]without authority[a], and the child has, but it is immature. So it must necessarily be 8
with the moral virtues also; all may be supposed to partake of them, but only in such manner and degree as is required by each for the fulfilment of his duty.

Different degrees of virtue.

Hence the ruler ought to have moral virtue in perfection, for his duty is entirely that of a master artificer, and the master artificer is reason; the subjects, on the other hand, require only that measure of virtue which is proper to each of them. Clearly, then, moral virtue belongs to 9

Plato criticised.

all of them; but the temperance of a man and of a woman, or the courage and justice of a man and of a woman, are not, as Socrates maintained[b], the same; the courage of a man is shown in commanding, of a woman in obeying. And this holds of all other virtues, as 10
will be more clearly seen if we look at them in detail, for those who say generally that virtue consists in a good disposition of the soul, or in doing rightly, or the like, only deceive themselves. Far better than such definitions is their mode of speaking, who, like Gorgias[b], enumerate the virtues. All classes must be deemed to 11
have their special attributes; as the poet says of women,

'Silence is a woman's glory[c],'

but this is not equally the glory of man. The child is imperfect, and therefore obviously his virtue is not relative

[a] Or, with Bernays, 'inconclusive.' [b] Plato Meno, 71–73.
[c] Soph. Aj. 293.

to himself alone, but to the perfect man and to his
12 teacher[a], and in like manner the virtue of the slave is relative to a master. Now we determined that a slave is useful for the wants of life, and therefore he will obviously require only so much virtue as will prevent him from failing in his duty through cowardice and intemperance. Some one will ask whether, if what we are saying is true, virtue will not be required also in the artisans, for they often fail in their work through mis-
13 conduct? But is there not a great difference in the two cases? For the slave shares in his master's life; the artisan is less closely connected with him, and only attains excellence in proportion as he becomes a slave, [i.e. is under the direction of a master]. The meaner
1260b. sort of mechanic has a special and separate slavery; and whereas the slave exists by nature, not so the shoemaker
14 or other artisan. It is manifest, then, that the master ought to be the source of excellence in the slave; but not merely because he possesses the art which trains him in his duties[b]. Wherefore they are mistaken who forbid us to converse with slaves and say that we should employ command only[c], for slaves stand even more in need of admonition than children.

Has the artisan virtue?

Mechanic and slave.

Plato criticised.

15 The relations of husband and wife, parent and child, their several virtues, what in their intercourse with one another is good, and what is evil, and how we may pursue the good and escape the evil, will have to be discussed when we speak of the different forms of government. For, inasmuch as every family is a part of a state, and these relationships are the parts of a family, the virtue of the part must have regard to the virtue of the whole. And therefore women and children must be trained by education with an eye to the state[d], if the virtues of either of them are supposed to make any difference in the virtues of the state. And they must
16 make a difference: for the children grow up to be

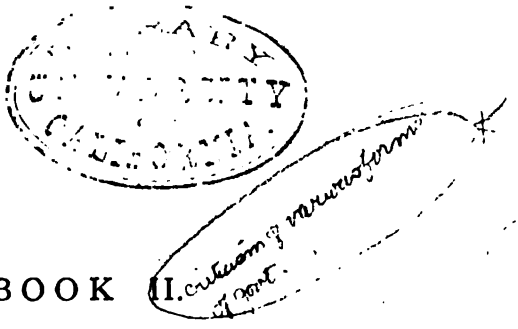
Virtues in the family relations.

[a] 'His father who guides him' (Bernays). [b] Cp. c. 7. § 4.
[c] Plato Laws, vi. 777. [d] Cp. v. 9. § 11–15; viii. 1. § 1.

I. 14. citizens, and half the free persons in a state are women[a].

Of these matters, enough has been said; of what remains, let us speak at another time. Regarding, then, our present enquiry as complete, we will make a new beginning. And, first, let us examine the various theories of a perfect state.

[a] Plato Laws, vi. 781 B.



BOOK II.

II. 1. Reasons for examining model forms of government actual or ideal.

OUR purpose is to consider what form of political community is best of all for those who are most able to realise their ideal of life. We must therefore examine not only this but other constitutions, both such as actually exist in well-governed states, and any theoretical forms which are held in esteem; that what is good and useful may be brought to light. And let no one suppose that in seeking for something beyond them [a] we at all want to philosophise at the expense of truth [a]; we only undertake this enquiry because all the constitutions with which we are acquainted are faulty.

2 We will begin with the natural beginning of the subject. Three alternatives are conceivable: The members of a state must either have (1) all things or (2) nothing in common, or (3) some things in common and some not. That they should have nothing in common is clearly impossible, for the state is a community, and must at
1261 a any rate have a common place—one city will be in one place, and the citizens are those who share in that one
3 city. But should a well-ordered state have all things, as far as may be, in common, or some only and not others? For the citizens might conceivably have wives and children and property in common, as Socrates proposes in the Republic of Plato [b]. Which is better, our present condition, or the proposed new order of society?

What should be common in a state? The logical alternatives.

The communism of Plato.

2. The community of women.

There are many difficulties in the community of women. And the principle on which Socrates rests the necessity of such an institution does not appear to be established by his arguments. The end which he ascribes

[a] Or, as Bernays, taking *πάντως* with *σοφίζεσθαι βουλομένους*, 'we are anxious to make a sophistical display at any cost.'

[b] Rep. v. 457 c.

II. 2. to the state, taken literally, is impossible, and how we are to interpret it is nowhere precisely stated. I am 2 speaking of the premiss from which the argument of Socrates proceeds, 'that the greater the unity of the state the better.' Is it not obvious that a state may at length attain such a degree of unity as to be no longer a state?—since the nature of a state is to be a plurality, and in tending to greater unity, from being a state, it becomes a family, and from being a family, an individual; for the family may be said to be more one than the state, and the individual than the family. So that we ought not to attain this greatest unity even if we could, for it would be the destruction of the state. Again, a state is not made 3 up only of so many men, but of different kinds of men; for similars do not constitute a state. It is not like a military alliance, of which the usefulness depends upon its quantity even where there is no difference in quality. For in that mutual protection is the end aimed at; and the question is the same as about the scales of a balance: which is the heavier?

(1) Plato is wrong in making the greatest unity the end of the state.

The state is a unity in difference.

In like manner, a state differs from a nation; for in a nation the people are not [a] distributed into villages, but live scattered about, like the Arcadians [a]; whereas in a state the elements out of which the unity is to be formed differ in kind. Wherefore the principle of compensation [b], 4 as I have already remarked in the Ethics [c], is the salvation of states. And among freemen and equals this is a principle which must be maintained, for they cannot all rule together, but must change at the end of a year or some other period of time or in some order of succession. The result is that upon this plan they all 5 govern; [but the manner of government is] just as if shoemakers and carpenters were to exchange their occupations, and the same persons did not always continue shoemakers and carpenters. And it is clearly better 6

A state, unlike a nation, is composed of different elements;

and freedom is preserved by the interchange of them.

[a] Or, 'dispersed in villages, but are in the condition of the Arcadians.'

[b] Or, 'reciprocal proportion.'

[c] N. Eth. v. 8. § 6.

that, as in business, so also in politics there should be continuance of the same persons where this is possible. But where this is not possible by reason of the natural equality of the citizens, and it would be unjust that any one should be excluded from the government (whether to govern be a good thing or a bad[a]), then it is better, instead of all holding power, to adopt a principle of rotation, equals giving place to equals, as the original rulers gave place to them[b]. Thus the one party rule and the others are ruled in turn, as if they were no longer the same persons. In like manner there is a variety in the offices held by them. Hence it is evident that a city is not by nature one in that sense which some persons affirm; and that what is said to be the greatest good of cities is in reality their destruction; but surely the good of things must be that which preserves them[c]. Again, in another point of view, this extreme unification of the state is clearly not good; for a family is more self-sufficing than an individual, and a city than a family, and a city only comes into being when the community is large enough to be self-sufficing. If then self-sufficiency is to be desired, the lesser degree of unity is more desirable than the greater.

II. 2.

1261 b. 7 8

Excessive unity would ruin the state.

But, even supposing that it were best for the community to have the greatest degree of unity, this unity is by no means proved to follow from the fact 'of all men saying "mine" and "not mine" at the same instant of time,' which, according to Socrates[d], is the sign of perfect unity in a state. For the word 'all' is ambiguous. If the meaning be that every individual says 'mine' and 'not mine' at the same time, then perhaps the result at which Socrates aims may be in some degree accomplished; each man will call the same person his own son and his own wife, and so of his property and of all that belongs to him. This, however, is not the way in which people would speak who had their wives and children in

3.

(2) Communism will not be the means by which unity is to be attained.

[a] Cp. Pl. Rep. i. 345–6.
[b] Cp. i. 12. § 2; iii. 17. § 4.
[c] Cp. Pl. Rep. i. 352.
[d] Pl. Rep. v. 462 c.

II. 3. common; they would say 'all' but not 'each.' In like 3
manner their property would be described as belonging
Fallacy in the word 'all.' to them, not severally but collectively. There is an
obvious fallacy in the term 'all': like some other words,
'both,' 'odd,' 'even,' it is ambiguous, and in argument
becomes a source of logical puzzles. That all persons
call the same thing mine in the sense in which each does
so may be a fine thing, but it is impracticable; or if the
words are taken in the other sense [i.e. the sense which
distinguishes 'all' from 'each'], such an unity in no way
conduces to harmony. And there is another objection 4
What is common least cared for. to the proposal. For that which is common to the
greatest number has the least care bestowed upon it.
Every one thinks chiefly of his own, hardly at all of the
common interest; and only when he is himself concerned
as an individual. For besides other considerations, every-
body is more inclined to neglect the duty which he expects
another to fulfil; as in families many attendants are often
less useful than a few. Each citizen will have a thousand 5
sons who will not be his sons individually, but anybody
will be equally the son of anybody, and will therefore be 1262a.
neglected by all alike. Further, upon this principle,
every one will call another 'mine' or 'not mine' accord-
ing as he is prosperous or the reverse;—however small a
fraction he may be of the whole number, he will say of
every individual of the thousand, or whatever be the
number of the city, 'such an one is mine,' 'such an one
his'; and even about this he will not be positive; for
it is impossible to know who chanced to have a child, or
whether, if one came into existence, it has survived. But 6
which is better—to be able to say 'mine' about every
one of the two thousand or the ten thousand citizens, or
to use the word 'mine' in the ordinary and more re-
Present arrangements better. stricted sense? For usually the same person is called by 7
one man his son whom another calls his brother or cousin
or kinsman or blood-relation or connexion by marriage
either of himself or of some relation of his, and these
relationships he distinguishes from the tie which binds

him to his tribe or ward; and how much better is it to be the real cousin of somebody than to be a son after Plato's II. 3.

8 fashion! Nor is there any way of preventing brothers and children and fathers and mothers from sometimes recognizing one another; for children are born like their parents, and they will necessarily be finding indications of

The real relationship will often be discovered.

9 their relationship to one another. Geographers declare such to be the fact; they say that in Upper Libya, where the women are common, nevertheless the children who are born are assigned to their respective fathers on the ground of their likeness[a]. And some women, like the females of other animals—for example mares and cows—have a strong tendency to produce offspring resembling their parents, as was the case with the Pharsalian mare called Dicaea (the Just)[b].

Other evils, against which it is not easy for the authors of such a community to guard, will be assaults and homicides, voluntary as well as involuntary, quarrels and slanders, all which are most unholy acts when committed against fathers and mothers and near relations, but not equally unholy when there is no relationship. Moreover, they are much more likely to occur if the relationship is unknown, and, when they have occurred, the customary

4. Evils of concealment.

2 expiations of them cannot be made. Again, how strange it is that Socrates, after having made the children common, should hinder lovers from carnal intercourse only, but should permit familiarities between father and son or between brother and brother, than which nothing can be more unseemly, since even without them, love

3 of this sort is improper. How strange, too, to forbid intercourse for no other reason than the violence of the pleasure, as though the relationship of father and son or of brothers with one another made no difference.

4 This community of wives and children seems better suited to the husbandmen than to the guardians, for if

Communism a source of weakness.

1262b. they have wives and children in common, they will be bound to one another by weaker ties, as a subject class

[a] Cp. Herod. iv. 180. [b] Cp. Hist. Anim. vii. 6, p. 586 a. 13.

II. 4. should be, and they will remain obedient and not rebel[a]. In a word, the result of such a law would be just the opposite of that which good laws ought to have, and the intention of Socrates in making these regulations about women and children would defeat itself. For friendship we believe to be the greatest good of states[b] and the preservative of them against revolutions; neither is there anything which Socrates so greatly lauds as the unity of the state which he and all the world declare to be created by friendship. But the unity which he commends[c] would be like that of the lovers in the Symposium[d], who, as Aristophanes says, desire to grow together in the excess of their affection, and from being two to become one, in which case one or both would certainly perish. Whereas [the very opposite will really happen;] in a state having women and children common, love will be watery; and the father will certainly not say 'my son,' or the son 'my father[e].' As a little sweet wine mingled with a great deal of water is imperceptible in the mixture, so, in this sort of community, the idea of relationship which is based upon these names will be lost; there is no reason why the so-called father should care about the son, or the son about the father, or brothers about one another. Of the two qualities which chiefly inspire regard and affection—that a thing is your own and that you love it—neither can exist in such a state as this.

5 6 7 8 9

Instead of self-destroying unity

there will be watery friendship.

Difficulties in the transfer of children from one rank to another.

Again, the transfer of children as soon as they are born from the rank of husbandmen or of artisans to that of guardians, and from the rank of guardians into a lower rank[f], will be very difficult to arrange; the givers or transferrers cannot but know whom they are giving and transferring, and to whom. And the previously mentioned evils, such as assaults, unlawful loves, homicides, will happen more often amongst those who are transferred to the lower classes, or who have a place assigned to them among the guardians; for they will no longer call

10

[a] Cp. vii. 10. § 13. [b] Cp. N. Eth. viii. 1. § 4. [c] Cp. c. 2.
[d] Symp. 189-193. [e] Cp. c. 3. [f] Rep. iii. 415.

the members of any other class brothers, and children, and fathers, and mothers, and will not, therefore, be afraid of committing any crimes by reason of consanguinity. Touching the community of wives and children, let this be our conclusion. II. 4.

Next let us consider what should be our arrangements about property: should the citizens of the perfect state Should property be common?
2 have their possessions in common or not? This question may be discussed separately from the enactments
1263a. about women and children. Even supposing that the women and children belong to individuals, according to the custom which is at present universal, may there not be an advantage in having and using possessions in common? Three cases are possible: (1) the soil may be appropriated, but the produce may be thrown for consumption into the common stock; and this is the practice of some nations. Or (2), the soil may be common, and may be cultivated in common, but the produce divided among individuals for their private use; this is a form of common property which is said to exist among certain barbarians. Or (3), the soil and the produce may be alike common. Possible modes of common property.

3 When the husbandmen are not the owners, the case will be different and easier to deal with; but when they till the ground themselves the question of ownership will give a world of trouble. If they do not share equally in enjoyments and toils, those who labour much and get little will necessarily complain of those who
4 labour little and receive or consume much. There is always a difficulty in men living together and having things in common, but especially in their having common property. The partnerships of fellow-travellers are an example to the point; for they generally fall out by the way and quarrel about any trifle which turns up. So with servants: we are most liable to take offence at those with whom we most frequently come into contact in daily life. Difficulties.

5 These are only some of the disadvantages which attend the community of property; the present arrangement, if improved as it might be by good customs and

II. 5. laws, would be far better, and would have the advantages of both systems. (Property should be in a certain sense common, but, as a general rule, private; for, when every one has a distinct interest[a], men will not complain of one another, and they will make more progress, because every one will be attending to his own business. And yet among the good, and in respect of use, 'Friends,' as the proverb says, 'will have all things common[b].' Even now there are traces of such a principle, showing that it is not impracticable, but, in well-ordered states, exists already to a certain extent and may be carried further. For, although every man has his own property, some things he will place at the disposal of his friends, while of others he shares the use with them.) The Lacedaemonians, for example, use one another's slaves, and horses, and dogs, as if they were their own; and when they happen to be in the country, they appropriate in the fields whatever provisions they want. It is clearly better that property should be private, but the use of it common; and the special business of the legislator is to create in men this benevolent disposition. Again, how immeasurably greater is the pleasure, when a man feels a thing to be his own; for the love of self[c] is a feeling implanted by nature and not given in vain, although selfishness is rightly censured; this, however, is not the mere love of self, but the love of self in excess, like the miser's love of money; for all, or almost all, men love money, and other such objects in a measure.) And further, there is the greatest pleasure in doing a kindness or service to friends or guests or companions, which can only be rendered when a man has private property. The advantage is lost by the excessive unification of the state. Two virtues are annihilated in such a state: first, temperance towards women (for it is an honourable action to abstain from another's wife for temperance sake); secondly, liberality in the matter of property. No one, when men have all things in common, will any longer set an

Better private possession and friendly use.

Illustration from Sparta.

The magic of property.

Communism destroys the two virtues of liberality and of temperance.

6 7 8 9 10 1263 b.

[a] Cp. Rep. ii. 374. [b] Cp. Rep. iv. 424 A. [c] Cp. N. Eth. ix. 8. § 6.

example of liberality or do any liberal action; for liberality consists in the use which is made of property[a]. II. 5.

11 Such legislation may have a specious appearance of benevolence; men readily listen to it, and are easily induced to believe that in some wonderful manner everybody will become everybody's friend, especially when some one[b] is heard denouncing the evils now existing in states, suits about contracts, convictions for perjury, flatteries of rich men and the like, which are said to 12 arise out of the possession of private property. These evils, however, are due to a very different cause—the wickedness of human nature. Indeed, we see that there is much more quarrelling among those who have all things in common, though there are not many of them when compared with the vast numbers who have private property.

The speciousness of universal friendship.

The real cause of existing evils, not private property, but the wickedness of men.

13 Again, we ought to reckon, not only the evils from which the citizens will be saved, but also the advantages which they will lose. The life which they are to lead appears to be quite impracticable. The error of Socrates must be attributed to the false notion of unity from 14 which he starts. Unity there should be, both of the family and of the state, but in some respects only. For there is a point at which a state may attain such a degree of unity as to be no longer a state, or at which, without actually ceasing to exist, it will become an inferior state, like harmony passing into unison, or rhythm 15 which has been reduced to a single foot. The state, as I was saying, is a plurality[c], which should be united and made into a community by education; and it is strange that the author of a system of education which he thinks will make the state virtuous, should expect to improve his citizens by regulations of this sort, and not by philosophy or by customs and laws, like those which prevail at Sparta and Crete respecting common meals, whereby 1264a the legislator has [to a certain degree] made property 16 common. Let us remember that we should not dis-

Plato's false ideal of unity.

The true unity can only be given by education.

[a] Cp. N. Eth. iv. 1. § 1. [b] Rep. v. 464, 465. [c] Cp. c. 2. § 2.

II. 5. All experience against men.

regard the experience of ages; in the multitude of years these things, if they were good, would certainly not have been unknown; for almost everything has been found out, although sometimes they are not put together; in other cases men do not use the knowledge which they have. Great light would be thrown on this subject if we 17
could see such a form of government in the actual process of construction; for the legislator could not form a state at all without distributing and dividing the citizens into associations for common meals, and into phratries and tribes. But all this legislation ends only in forbidding agriculture to the guardians, a prohibition which the Lacedaemonians try to enforce already.

Difficulties.

How about the dependent classes? are they to be educated and to have wives in common?

Again, Socrates has not said, nor is it easy to decide, 18
what in such a community will be the general form of the state. The citizens who are not guardians are the majority, and about them nothing has been determined: are the husbandmen, too, to have their property in common? Or, besides the common land which he tills, is each individual to have his own? and are their wives and children to be individual or common? If, like the 19
guardians, they are to have all things in common, in what do they differ from them, or what will they gain by submitting to their government? Or, upon what principle would they submit, unless indeed the governing class adopt the ingenious policy of the Cretans, who give their slaves the same institutions as their own, but forbid them gymnastic exercises and the possession of arms.

If not, there will be two states in one.

If, on the other hand, the inferior classes are 20
to be like other cities in respect of marriage and property, what will be the form of the community? Must it not contain two states in one[a], each hostile to the other? [b] One class will consist of the guardians, who are a sort of watchmen; another, of the husbandmen, and

[a] Cp. Rep. iv. 422 E.

[b] Or (with Bernays), 'He makes the guardians into a mere occupying garrison, while the husbandmen and artisans and the rest are the real citizens;' see note.

CALIFORN

21 there will be the artisans and the other citizens[b]. But [if so] the suits and quarrels, and all the evils which Socrates affirms[a] to exist in other states, will exist equally among them. He says indeed that, having so good an education, the citizens will not need many laws, for example laws about the city or about the markets[b]; but then he confines his education to the guardians.

22 Again, he makes the husbandmen owners of the land upon condition of their paying a tribute[c]. But in that case they are likely to be much more unmanageable and conceited than the Helots, or Penestae, or slaves

23 in general[d]. And whether community of wives and property be necessary for the lower equally with the higher class or not, and the questions akin to this, what will be the education, form of government, laws of the lower class, Socrates has nowhere determined: neither is it easy, though very important, to discover what should be the character of the inferior classes, if the common life of the guardians is to be maintained.

Omissions.

1264 b. 24 Again, if Socrates makes the women common, and retains private property, the men will see to the fields, but who will see to the house? [e]And what will happen if the agricultural class have both their property and their wives in common[e]? Once more; it is absurd to argue, from the analogy of the animals, that men and women should follow the same pursuits[f]; for animals have not

More difficulties.

Who will look after the house?

25 to manage a household. The government, too, as constituted by Socrates, contains elements of danger; for he makes the same persons always rule. And if this is often a cause of disturbance among the meaner sort,

Danger from the rulers being always the same.

26 how much more among high-spirited warriors? But that the persons whom he makes rulers must be the same is evident; for the gold which the God mingles in the souls of men is not at one time given to one, at another time to another, but always to the same: as he

[a] Rep. v. 464, 465. [b] Rep. iv. 425 D. [c] Rep. v. 464 C.
[d] Cp. c. 9. § 2. [e] These words are bracketed by Bekker.
[f] Cp. Rep. v. 451 D.

II. 5. says, 'God mingles gold in some, and silver in others, from their very birth; but brass and iron in those who are meant to be artisans and husbandmen[a].' Again, he 27
deprives the guardians of happiness, and says that the
How can the whole state be happy if happiness is denied to the guardians? legislator ought to make the whole state happy[b]. But the whole cannot be happy unless most, or all, or some of its parts enjoy happiness[c]. In this respect happiness is not like the even principle in numbers, which may exist only in the whole, but in none of the parts; not so happiness. And if the guardians are not happy, who 28
are? Surely not the artisans, or the common people. The Republic of which Socrates discourses has all these difficulties, and others quite as great.

6. The same, or nearly the same, objections apply to
The Laws a later work. Plato's later work, the Laws, and therefore we had better examine briefly the constitution which is therein
Brief summary of questions not settled in the Republic, described. In the Republic, Socrates has definitely settled in all a few questions only; such as the community of women and children, the community of property, and the constitution of the state. The population is divided 2
into two classes—one of husbandmen, and the other of warriors; from this latter is taken a third class of counsellors and rulers of the state. But Socrates has not 3
determined whether the husbandmen and artisans are to have a share in the government, and whether they, too, are to carry arms and share in military service, or not. He certainly thinks that the women ought to share in the education of the guardians, and to fight by their side. The remainder of the work is filled up with digressions foreign to the main subject, and with discussions about the education of the guardians. In the 1265 a. 4
Laws there is hardly anything but laws; not much is said about the constitution. This, which he had intended to make more of the ordinary type, he gradually brings
and they are not settled in the Laws, which round to the other or ideal form. For with the exception 5
of the community of women and property, he supposes everything to be the same in both states; there is to be the

[a] Cp. Rep. iii. 415 A. [b] Rep. iv. 419, 420. [c] Cp. vii. 9. § 7.

same education; the citizens of both are to live free from servile occupations, and there are to be common meals in both. The only difference is that in the Laws, the common meals are extended to women [a], and the warriors number about 5000 [b], but in the Republic only 1000 [c]. II. 6. begins with a more ordinary type of constitution, but soon reverts to the ideal.

6 The discourses of Socrates are never commonplace; they always exhibit grace and originality and thought; but perfection in everything can hardly be expected. We must not overlook the fact that the number of 5000 citizens, just now mentioned, will require a territory as large as Babylonia, or some other huge country, if so many persons are to be supported in idleness, together with their women and attendants, who will be a multi- 7 tude many times as great. [In framing an ideal] we may assume what we wish, but should avoid impossibilities [d]. Plato, with all his genius, has sinned against probability in creating so large a state.

It is said [in the Laws] that the legislator ought to have his eye directed to two points,—the people and the country [e]. But neighbouring countries also must not be forgotten by him [f], if the state for which he legislates is to have a true political life [g]. For a state must have such a military force as will be serviceable against her 8 neighbours, and not merely useful at home. Even if the life of action is not admitted to be the best, either for individuals or states [h], still a city should be formidable to enemies, whether invading or retreating. Foreign relations neglected.

There is another point: Should not the amount of property be defined in some clearer way? For Socrates says that a man should have so much property as will enable him to live temperately [i], which is only a way of saying 'to live well;' this would be the higher or 9 more general conception. But a man may live temperately and yet miserably. A better definition would be that a man must have so much property as will enable him to live not only temperately but liberally [j]; if the How much property should a citizen hold? So much as will enable a man to live temperately and

[a] Laws, vi. 781. [b] Laws, v. 737 E.
[c] Rep. iv. 423 A (but see note on this passage).
[d] Cp. vii. 4. § 2. [e] Perhaps Laws, 703–707 and 747 D (?).
[f] Cp. c. 7. § 14. [g] Cp. vii. 6. § 7. [h] Cp. vii. c. 2. and 3.
[i] Laws, v. 737 D. [j] Cp. vii. 5. § 1.

II. 6. also liberally. two are parted, liberality will combine with luxury; toil will be associated with temperance. For liberality and temperance are the only virtues[a] which have to do with the use of property. A man cannot use property with mildness or courage, but temperately and liberally he may; and therefore the practice of these virtues is inseparable from property. There is an in- 10
consistency, too, in equalizing the property and not regulating the number of the citizens[b]; the population is to remain unlimited, and he thinks that it will be sufficiently equalized by a certain number of marriages being unfruitful, however many are born to others, because he 1265 b.
finds this to be the case in existing states. But [in 11
Plato's imaginary state] greater care will be required than now; for among ourselves, whatever may be the number of citizens, the property is always distributed among them, and therefore no one is in want; but, if the property were incapable of division [as in the Laws], the supernumeraries, whether few or many, would get nothing. One would have thought that it was even 12
more necessary to limit population than property; and that the limit should be fixed by calculating the chances of mortality in the children, and of sterility in married persons. The neglect of this subject, which in existing 13
states is so common, is a never-failing cause of poverty among the citizens; and poverty is the parent of revolution and crime. Pheidon the Corinthian, who was one of the most ancient legislators, thought that the families and the number of citizens ought to remain the same, although originally all the lots may have been of different sizes; but in the Laws, the opposite principle is maintained. What in our opinion is the right arrange- 14
ment will have to be explained hereafter[c].

Necessity of a limit to population.

There is another omission in the Laws; Socrates does

[a] Omitting ἕξεις and reading ἀρεταί with the MSS., or, reading with Bekk. ἕξεις αἱρεταί, 'eligible qualities.' [b] But see Laws, v. 740.

[c] Cp. vii. 5. § 1; 10. § 11; 16. § 15; but the promise is hardly fulfilled.

not tell us how the rulers differ from their subjects; he only says that they should be related as the warp and
15 the woof, which are made out of different wools[a]. He allows that a man's whole property may be increased five-fold[b], but why should not his land also increase to a certain extent? Again, will the good management of a household be promoted by his arrangement of homesteads? for he assigns to each individual two homesteads
16 in separate places[c], and it is difficult to live in two houses.

How do the rulers differ from their subjects?

The two households.

The whole system of government tends to be neither democracy nor oligarchy, but something in a mean between them, which is usually called a polity, and is composed of the heavy armed soldiers. Now, if he intended to frame a constitution which would suit the greatest number of states, he was very likely right, but not if he meant to say that this constitutional form came nearest to his first or ideal state; for many would prefer the Lacedaemonian, or, possibly, some other more aris-
17 tocratic government. Some, indeed, say that the best constitution is a combination of all existing forms, and they praise the Lacedaemonian[d] because it is made up of oligarchy, monarchy, and democracy, the king forming the monarchy, and the council of elders the oligarchy, while the democratic element is represented by the Ephors; for the Ephors are selected from the people. Others, however, declare the Ephoralty to be a tyranny, and find the element of democracy in the common meals
1266a. and in the habits of daily life. In the Laws[e], it is
18 maintained that the best state is made up of democracy and tyranny, which are either not constitutions at all, or are the worst of all. But they are nearer the truth who combine many forms; for the state is better which is made up of more numerous elements. The constitution proposed in the Laws has no element of monarchy at all; it is nothing but oligarchy and democracy, leaning

The constitution a mixture of democracy and oligarchy.

Sparta, also a mixture, is praised and blamed.

The best constitution is said to be that which includes most elements.

[a] Laws, v. 734 E, 735 A. [b] Laws, v. 744 E.
[c] Laws, v. 745, but cp. infra, vii. 10. § 11.
[d] Cp. iv. § 7; 7. § 4; 9. § 7–9. [e] vi. 756 E; cp. iv. 710.

II. 6. rather to oligarchy. This is seen in the mode of ap- 19
Election of magistrates. pointing magistrates[a]; for although the appointment of them by lot from among those who have been already selected combines both elements, the way in which the rich are compelled by law to attend the assembly[b] and vote for magistrates or discharge other political duties, while the rest may do as they like, and the endeavour to have the greater number of the magistrates appointed out of the richest classes and the highest officers selected from those who have the greatest incomes, both these
Election to the Council. are oligarchical features. The oligarchical principle pre- 20
vails also in the choice of the council[c]; for all are compelled to choose, but the compulsion extends only to the choice out of the first class, and of an equal number out of the second class and out of the third class, but not in this latter case to all the voters of the third and fourth class; and the selection of candidates out of the fourth class[d] is only compulsory on the first and second. Then, he says that there ought to be an equal number 21
of each class selected. Thus a preponderance will be given to the better sort of people, who have the larger incomes, because many of the lower classes, not being compelled, will not vote. These considerations, and 22
others which will be adduced when the time comes for examining similar polities, tend to show that states like Plato's should not be composed of democracy and mon-
Danger in double election. archy. There is also a danger in electing the magistrates out of a body who are themselves elected; for, if but a small number choose to combine, the elections will always go as they desire. Such is the constitution which is described in the Laws.

7. Other constitutions have been proposed; some by private persons, others by philosophers and statesmen, which all come nearer to established or existing ones than either of Plato's. No one else has introduced such novelties as the community of women and children, or

[a] Laws, vi. 755, 763 E, 765.
[b] Laws, vi. 764 A; and Pol. iv. 9. § 2; 14. § 12. [c] Laws, vi. 756 B–E.
[d] Omitting either τοῦ τετάρτου or τῶν τετάρτων.

public tables for women: other legislators begin with II. 7.
2 what is necessary. In the opinion of some, the regulation of property is the chief point of all, that being the question upon which all revolutions turn. This danger was recognized by Phaleas of Chalcedon, who was the first to affirm that the citizens of a state
3 ought to have equal possessions. He thought that in Phaleas first proposed the equalization of property.
1266b. a new colony the equalization might be accomplished without difficulty, not so easily when a state was already established; and that then the shortest way of compassing the desired end would be for the rich to give and not to receive marriage portions, and for the poor not to give but to receive them.

4 Plato in the Laws was of opinion that, to a certain extent, accumulation should be allowed, forbidding, as I have already observed[a], any citizen to possess more
5 than five times the minimum qualification. But those who make such laws should remember what they are apt to forget,—that the legislator who fixes the amount of property should also fix the number of children; for, if the children are too many for the property, the law must be broken. And, besides the violation of the law, it is a bad thing that many from being rich should become poor; for men of ruined fortunes are sure to
6 stir up revolutions. That the equalization of property exercises an influence on political society was clearly understood even by some of the old legislators. Laws were made by Solon and others prohibiting an individual from possessing as much land as he pleased; and there are other laws in states which forbid the sale of property: among the Locrians, for example, there is a law that a man is not to sell his property unless he can prove unmistakably that some misfortune has befallen
7 him. Again, there have been laws which enjoin the preservation of the original lots. Such a law existed in the island of Leucas, and the abrogation of it made the constitution too democratic, for the rulers no longer had the

But population must be equalized as well as property.

The acquisition or sale of land should be limited.

[a] c. 6. § 15.

II. 7. prescribed qualification. Again, where there is equality of property, the amount may be either too large or too small, and the possessor may be living either in luxury or penury. Clearly, then, the legislator ought not only to aim at the equalization of properties, but at moderation in their amount. And yet, if he prescribe this moderate 8 amount equally to all, he will be no nearer the mark; for it is not the possessions but the desires of mankind which require to be equalized[a], and this is impossible, unless a sufficient education is provided by the state. But Phaleas will probably reply that this is precisely what he means; and that, in his opinion, there ought to be in states, not only equal property, but equal education. Still he should tell us what will be the character of his 9 education; there is no use in having one and the same for all, if it is of a sort that predisposes men to avarice, or ambition, or both. Moreover, civil troubles arise, not 10 only out of the inequality of property, but out of the inequality of honour, though in opposite ways. For the common people quarrel about the inequality of property, 1267a. the higher class about the equality of honour; as the poet says,—

Evils arise not merely from inequality of property but from inequality of honour

'The bad and good alike in honour share[b].'

There are crimes of which the motive is want; and 11 for these Phaleas expects to find a cure in the equalization of property, which will take away from a man the temptation to be a highwayman, because he is hungry or cold. But want is not the sole incentive to crime; men 12 desire to gratify some passion which preys upon them, or they are eager to enjoy the pleasures which are unaccompanied with pain, and therefore they commit crimes.

and from the desires of men.

Now what is the cure of these three disorders? Of the first, moderate possessions and occupation; of the second, habits of temperance; as to the third, if any desire pleasures which depend on themselves, they will find the satisfaction of their desires nowhere but in philosophy; for all other pleasures we are dependent

The real cure moral.

[a] Cp. c. 5. § 12.

[b] II. ix. 319.

13 on others. The fact is that the greatest crimes are caused by excess and not by necessity. Men do not become tyrants in order that they may not suffer cold; and hence great is the honour bestowed, not on him who kills a thief, but on him who kills a tyrant. Thus we see that the institutions of Phaleas avail only against petty crimes. II. 7.

14 There is another objection to them. They are chiefly designed to promote the internal welfare of the state. But the legislator should consider also its relation to neighbouring nations, and to all who are outside of it[a]. The government must be organized with a view to military strength; and of this he has said not a word. Foreign relations not considered.

15 And so with respect to property: there should not only be enough to supply the internal wants of the state, but also to meet dangers coming from without. The property of the state should not be so large that more powerful neighbours may be tempted by it, while the owners are unable to repel the invaders; nor yet so small that the state is unable to maintain a war even against 16 states of equal power, and of the same character. Phaleas has not laid down any rule; and we should bear in mind [b] that a certain amount of wealth [b] is an advantage. The best limit will probably be, not so much as will tempt a more powerful neighbour, or make it his interest to go 17 to war with you. There is a story that Eubulus, when Autophradates was going to besiege Atarneus, told him to consider how long the operation would take, and then reckon up the cost which would be incurred in the time. 'For,' said he, 'I am willing for a smaller sum than that to leave Atarneus at once.' These words of Eubulus made an impression on Autophradates, and he desisted from the siege.

18 One advantage gained by the equalization of property is that it prevents the citizens from quarrelling. Not that the gain in this direction is very great. For the nobles will be dissatisfied because they do not receive Equal property has some advantages, but they are not great.

[a] Cp. c. 6. § 7. [b] Or reading ὅ τι, 'what amount of wealth.'

II. 7. the honours which they think their due; and this is often found to be a cause of sedition and revolution[a]. And the avarice of mankind is insatiable; at one time 1267 b. 19 two obols was pay enough; but now, when this sum has become customary, men always want more and more without end; for it is of the nature of desire not to be satisfied, and most men live only for the gratification of it. [b]The beginning of reform[b] is not so much to 20 equalize property as to train the nobler sort of natures not to desire more, and to prevent the lower from getting more; that is to say, they must be kept down, but not ill-treated. Besides, the equalization proposed by Phaleas 21 is imperfect; for he only equalizes land, whereas a man may be rich also in slaves, and cattle, and money, and in the abundance of what are called his moveables. Now either all these things must be equalized, or some limit must be imposed on them, or they must all be let alone. It would appear that Phaleas is legislating for 22 a small city only, if, as he supposes, all the artisans are to be public slaves and not to form a part of the population of the city. But if there is a law that artisans 23 are to be public slaves, it should only apply to those engaged on public works[c], as at Epidamnus, or at Athens on the plan which Diophantus once introduced.

From these observations any one may judge how far Phaleas was wrong or right in his ideas.

8. Hippodamus, the son of Euryphon, a native of Miletus, the same who invented the art of planning cities, and who also laid out the Piraeus,—a strange man, whose fondness for distinction led him into a general eccentricity of life, which made some think him affected (for he would wear flowing hair and expensive ornaments; and yet he dressed himself in the same cheap warm garment both in winter and summer); he, besides

Hippodamus the first political philosopher.

[a] Cp. § 10.

[b] Or, reading with Bernays ἄκη, 'the remedy for such evils.'

[c] Putting a comma after εἶναι and removing the comma after ἐργαζομένοις.

aspiring to be an adept in the knowledge of nature, was the first person not a statesman who made enquiries about the best form of government. II. 8.

2 The city of Hippodamus was composed of 10,000 citizens divided into three parts,—one of artisans, one of husbandmen, and a third of armed defenders of the 3 state. He also divided the land into three parts, one sacred, one public, the third private:—the first was set apart to maintain the customary worship of the gods, the second was to support the warriors, the third was the 4 property of the husbandmen. He also divided his laws into three classes, and no more, for he maintained that there are three subjects of lawsuits,—insult, injury, and homicide. He likewise instituted a single final court of appeal, to which all causes seeming to have been improperly decided might be referred; this court he formed 1268 a. 5 of elders chosen for the purpose. He was further of opinion that the decisions of the courts ought not to be given by the use of a voting pebble, but that every one should have a tablet on which he might not only write a simple condemnation, or leave the tablet blank for a simple acquittal; but, if he partly acquitted and partly condemned, he was to distinguish accordingly. To the existing law he objected that it obliged the judges to be 6 guilty of perjury, whichever way they voted. He also enacted that those who discovered anything for the good of the state should be rewarded; and he provided that the children of citizens who died in battle should be maintained at the public expense, as if such an enactment had never been heard of before, yet it actually exists 7 at Athens[a] and in other places. As to the magistrates, he would have them all elected by the people, that is, by the three classes already mentioned, and those who were elected were to watch over the interests of the public, of strangers, and of orphans. These are the most striking points in the constitution of Hippodamus. There is not much else.

His threefold division of the citizens, of the land, and of the laws.

Court of appeal.

Verdicts not to be limited to a simple 'guilty' or 'not guilty.'

Rewards for inventions.

Maintenance of children of citizens slain in battle.

Magistrates, how to be elected:

[a] Cp. Thuc. ii. c. 46.

II. 8. (1) Threefold division of the citizens criticised.

The first of these proposals to which objection may be taken, is the threefold division of the citizens. The 8
artisans, and the husbandmen, and the warriors, all have a share in the government. (But the husbandmen have no arms, and the artisans neither arms nor land, and therefore they become all but slaves of the warrior class.) That they should share in all the offices is an im- 9
possibility; for generals and guardians of the citizens, and nearly all the principal magistrates, must be taken from the class of those who carry arms. Yet, if the two other classes have no share in the government, how can they be loyal citizens? It may be said that those who have arms must necessarily be masters of both the other classes, but this is not so easily accomplished unless they are numerous; and if they are, why should the 10
other classes share in the government at all, or have power to appoint magistrates? Artisans there must be, for these are wanted in every city, and they can live by their craft, as elsewhere; and the husbandmen, too, if they really provided the warriors with food, might fairly have a share in the government. But in the republic of Hippodamus they are supposed to have land of their own, which they cultivate for their private benefit. Again, as 11
to this common land out of which the soldiers are maintained, if they are themselves to be the cultivators of it, the warrior class will be identical with the husbandmen, although the legislator intended to make a distinction between them. If, again, there are to be other cultivators distinct both from the husbandmen, who have land of their own, and from the warriors, they will make a fourth class, which has no place in the state and no share in anything. Or, if the same persons are to cul- 12
tivate their own lands and those of the public as well, they will have a difficulty in supplying the quantity of produce which will maintain two households: and why, 1268 b.
in this case, should there be any division, for they might find food themselves and give to the warriors from the same lots? There is surely a great confusion in all this.

13 Neither is the law to be commended which says that the judges, when a simple issue is laid before them, should distinguish in their judgment; for the judge is thus converted into an arbitrator. Now, in an arbitration, although the arbitrators are many, they confer with one another about the decision, and therefore they can distinguish; but in courts of law this is impossible, and, indeed, most legislators take pains to prevent the judges from holding any communication with one another. II. 8. (2) Proposed verdict in detail condemned.

14 Again, will there not be confusion if the judge thinks that damages should be given, but not so much as the suitor demands? He asks, say, for twenty minae, and the judge allows him ten minae, or one judge more and another less; one five, another four minae. In this way they will go on apportioning the damages, and some will grant 15 the whole and others nothing: how is the final reckoning to be taken? Again, no one who votes for a simple acquittal or condemnation is compelled to perjure himself, if the indictment is quite simple and in right form; for the judge who acquits does not decide that the defendant owes nothing, but that he does not owe the twenty minae. He only is guilty of perjury who thinks that the defendant ought not to pay twenty minae, and yet condemns him.

16 To reward those who discover anything which is useful to the state is a proposal which has a specious sound, but cannot safely be enacted by law, for it may encourage informers, and perhaps even lead to political commotions. This question involves another. It has been doubted whether it is or is not expedient to make any changes in 17 the laws of a country, even if another law be better. Now, if all changes are inexpedient, we can hardly assent to the proposal of Hippodamus; for, under pretence of doing a public service, a man may introduce measures which are really destructive to the laws or to the constitution. But, since we have touched upon this subject, perhaps we 18 had better go a little into detail, for, as I was saying, there is a difference of opinion, and it may sometimes seem de- (3) To reward political information dangerous. Should laws be changed at all?

II. 8. sirable to make changes. Such changes in the other arts and sciences have certainly been beneficial; medicine, for example, and gymnastic, and every other art and science have departed from traditional usage. And, if politics be an art, change must be necessary in this as in any other art. The need of improvement is shown by the fact 19
that old customs are exceedingly simple and barbarous. For the ancient Hellenes went about armed [a] and bought their wives of each other. The remains of ancient laws 20
which have come down to us are quite absurd; for ex- 1269
ample, at Cumae there is a law about murder, to the effect that if the accuser produce a certain number of witnesses from among his own kinsmen, the accused shall be held guilty. Again, men in general desire the good, 21
and not merely what their fathers had. But the primeval inhabitants [b], whether they were born of the earth or were the survivors of some destruction, may be supposed to have been no better than ordinary foolish people among ourselves [b] (such is certainly the tradition [c] concerning the earth-born men); and it would be ridiculous to rest contented with their notions. Even when laws have been written down, they ought not always to remain unaltered. As in other sciences, so in politics, it is im- 22
possible that all things should be precisely set down in writing; for enactments must be universal, but actions are concerned with particulars [d]. Hence we infer that sometimes and in certain cases laws may be changed; but when we look at the matter from another point of view, great caution would seem to be required. For 23
the habit of lightly changing the laws is an evil, and, when the advantage is small, some errors both of lawgivers and rulers had better be left; the citizen will not

Changes in the arts beneficial,

but the case of laws is not quite analogous to that of the arts.

[a] Cp. Thucyd. i. c. 5 and 6.

[b] Or, referring ὁμοίους to γηγενεῖς, 'whether they were born of the earth or were the survivors of some destruction, who were no better (ὁμοίους) than earth-born men, may be supposed to have been ordinary foolish people.'

[c] Cp. Plato, Laws, iii. 677 A; Polit. 271 A; Tim. 22 C.

[d] Cp. Plato, Polit. 295 A.

gain so much by the change as he will lose by the habit II. 8.
24 of disobedience. The analogy of the arts is false; a change in a law is a very different thing from a change in an art. For the law has no power to command obedience except that of habit, which can only be given by time, so that a readiness to change from old to new laws
25 enfeebles the power of the law. Even if we admit that the laws are to be changed, are they all to be changed, and in every state? And are they to be changed by anybody who likes, or only by certain persons? These are very important questions; and therefore we had better reserve the discussion of them to a more suitable occasion.

In the governments of Lacedaemon and Crete, and 9.
indeed in all governments, two points have to be considered; first, whether any particular law is good or bad, when compared with the perfect state; secondly, whether it is or is not consistent with the idea and character
2 which the lawgiver has set before his citizens[a]. That in a well-ordered state the citizens should have leisure and not have to provide for their daily wants is generally acknowledged, but there is a difficulty in seeing how this leisure is to be attained. [For, if you employ slaves, they are liable to rebel.] The Thessalian Penestae have often risen against their masters, and the Helots in like manner against the Lacedaemonians, for whose
3 misfortunes they are always lying in wait. Nothing, however, of this kind has as yet happened to the Cretans;
1269 b. the reason probably is that the neighbouring cities, even when at war with one another, never form an alliance with rebellious serfs, rebellions not being for their interest, since they themselves have a dependent population[b]. Whereas all the neighbours of the Lacedaemonians, whether Argives, Messenians, or Arcadians, are their enemies [and the Helots are always revolting to them]. In Thessaly, again, the original revolt of the slaves occurred at a time when the Thessalians were still at war with the neighbouring Achaeans, Perrhaebians, and

Two questions to be asked about governments: (1) Is the end which they propose good? and (2) do they fulfil it?

Defects of Lacedaemonian state. (1) The Helots a constant trouble.

[a] Or 'himself' (Bernays).

[b] Cp. c. 10. § 5.

II. 9. Magnesians. Besides, if there were no other difficulty, 4
the treatment or management of slaves is a troublesome affair; for, if not kept in hand, they are insolent, and think that they are as good as their masters, and, if harshly treated, they hate and conspire against them. Now it is clear that when these are the results the citizens of a state have not found out the secret of managing their subject population.

(2) The women: their disorder and pernicious influence.

Again, the licence of the Lacedaemonian women de- 5
feats the intention of the Spartan constitution, and is adverse to the good order of the state. For a husband and a wife, being each a part of every family, the state may be considered as about equally divided into men and women; and, therefore, in those states in which the condition of the women is bad, half the city[a] may be regarded as having no laws. And this is what has 6
actually happened at Sparta; the legislator wanted to make the whole state hardy and temperate, and he has carried out his intention in the case of the men, but he has neglected the women, who live in every sort of intemperance and luxury. The consequence is that in 7
such a state wealth is too highly valued, especially if the citizens fall under the dominion of their wives, after the manner of all warlike races, except the Celts and a few others who openly approve of male loves. The old 8
mythologer would seem to have been right in uniting Ares and Aphrodite, for all warlike races are prone to the love either of men or of women. This was exemplified among the Spartans in the days of their greatness; many things were managed by their women. But what 9
difference does it make whether women rule, or the rulers are ruled by women? The result is the same. Even in regard to courage, which is of no use in daily life, and is needed only in war, the influence of the Lacedaemonian women has been most mischievous. The evil showed 10
itself in the Theban invasion, when, unlike the women in

[a] Cp. i. 13. § 16.

other cities, they were utterly useless and caused more confusion than the enemy. This licence of the Lacedaemonian women existed from the earliest times, and was
1270a. 11 only what might be expected. For, during the wars of the Lacedaemonians, first against the Argives, and afterwards against the Arcadians and Messenians, the men were long away from home, and, on the return of peace, they gave themselves into the legislator's hand, already prepared by the discipline of a soldier's life (in which there are many elements of virtue), to receive his enactments. But, when Lycurgus, as tradition says, wanted to bring the women under his laws, they resisted, and he
12 gave up the attempt. They, and not he, are to blame for what then happened, and this defect in the constitution is clearly to be attributed to them. We are not, however, considering what is or is not to be excused, but what is
13 right or wrong, and the disorder of the women, as I have already said, not only of itself gives an air of indecorum to the state, but tends in a measure to foster avarice.

The licence allowed to them fosters avarice.

The mention of avarice naturally suggests a criticism
14 on the inequality of property. While some of the Spartan citizens have quite small properties, others have very large ones; hence the land has passed into the hands of a few. And here is another fault in their laws; for, although the legislator rightly holds up to shame the sale or purchase of an inheritance, he allows any body who likes to give and bequeath it. Yet both practices
15 lead to the same result. And nearly two-fifths of the whole country are held by women; this is owing to the number of heiresses and to the large dowries which are customary. It would surely have been better to have given no dowries at all, or, if any, but small or moderate ones. As the law now stands, a man may bestow his heiress on any one whom he pleases, and, if he die intestate, the privilege of giving her away descends
16 to his heir. Hence, although the country is able to maintain 1500 cavalry and 30,000 hoplites, the whole number of Spartan citizens [at the time of the Theban

(3) Accumulation of property in a few hands; an evil aggravated by the number of heiresses.

II. 9. invasion] fell below 1000. The result proves the faulty nature of their laws respecting property; for the city sank under a single defeat; the want of men was their ruin. There is a tradition that, in the days of their ancient kings, they were in the habit of giving the rights of citizenship to strangers, and therefore, in spite of their long wars, no lack of population was experienced by them; indeed, at one time Sparta is said to have numbered not less than 10,000 citizens. Whether this statement is true or not, it would certainly have been better to have maintained their numbers by the equalization of property. Again, the law which relates to the procreation of children is adverse to the correction of this inequality. For the legislator, wanting to have as many Spartans as he could, encouraged the citizens to have large families; and there is a law at Sparta that the father of three sons shall be exempt from military service, and he who has four from all the burdens of the state. Yet it is obvious that, if there were many children, the land being distributed as it is, many of them must necessarily fall into poverty.

'Thus wealth accumulates and men decay.'

17 18 1270 b. 19

(4) The Ephors chosen from the people and often corrupt; they have too much power. Yet the office keeps the state together.

The Lacedaemonian constitution is defective in another point; I mean the Ephoralty. This magistracy has authority in the highest matters, but the Ephors are all chosen from the people, and so the office is apt to fall into the hands of very poor men, who, being badly off, are open to bribes. There have been many examples at Sparta of this evil in former times; and quite recently, in the matter of the Andrians, certain of the Ephors who were bribed did their best to ruin the state. And so great and tyrannical is their power, that even the kings have been compelled to court them; through their influence the constitution has deteriorated, and from being an aristocracy has turned into a democracy. The Ephoralty certainly does keep the state together; for the people are contented when they have a share in the highest office, and the result, whether due to the legislator or to chance, has been advantageous. For if a constitution is to be permanent, all the parts of the state

20 21 22

must wish that it should exist and be maintained[a]. This is the case at Sparta, where the kings desire permanence because they have due honour in their own persons; the nobles are represented in the council of elders (for the office of elder is a reward of virtue); and the people in the Ephoralty, for all are eligible to it. The election of Ephors out of the whole people is perfectly right, but ought not to be carried on in the present fashion, which is too childish. Again, they have the decision of great causes, although they are quite ordinary men, and therefore they should not determine them merely on their own judgment, but according to written rules, and to the laws. Their way of life, too, is not in accordance with the spirit of the constitution—they have a deal too much licence; whereas, in the case of the other citizens, the excess of strictness is so intolerable that they run away from the law into the secret indulgence of sensual pleasures.

II. 9.

23 Childish mode of electing them.

24 They are above the laws.

Again, the council of elders is not free from defects. It may be said that the elders are good men and well trained in manly virtue; and that, therefore, there is an advantage to the state in having them. But that judges of important causes should hold office for life is not a good thing, for the mind grows old as well as the body. And when men have been educated in such a manner that even the legislator himself cannot trust them, there is real danger. Many of the elders are well known to have taken bribes and to have been guilty of partiality in public affairs. And therefore they ought not to be irresponsible; yet at Sparta they are so. But (it may be replied), 'All magistracies are accountable to the Ephors.' Yes, but this prerogative is too great for them, and we maintain that the control should be exercised in some other manner. Further, the mode in which the Spartans elect their elders is childish; and it is improper that[b] the person to be elected should canvass

(5) Council of elders.

25 Life tenure of judges bad.

1271 a.

26 The elders corrupt and imperfectly controlled.

27 Childish mode of electing them.

[a] Cp. iv. 9. § 10; v. 9. § 5.

[b] Reading τὸ αὐτόν, not τόν, as Bekker, 2nd edit., apparently by a misprint.

II. 9. for the office; the worthiest should be appointed, whether he chooses or not. And here the legislator clearly in- 28
dicates the same intention which appears in other parts of his constitution; he would have his citizens ambitious, and he has reckoned upon this quality in the election of the elders; for no one would ask to be elected if he were not. Yet ambition and avarice, almost more than any other passions, are the motives of crime.

(6) Mistrust of the kings. Whether kings are or are not an advantage to states, 29
I will consider at another time[a]; they should at any rate be chosen, not as they are now, but with regard to their
They should be appointed by merit. personal life and conduct. The legislator himself obvi- 30
ously did not suppose that he could make them really good men; at least he shows a great distrust of their virtue. For this reason the Spartans used to join enemies in the same embassy, and the quarrels between the kings were held to be conservative of the state.

(7) The common meals ill arranged. Neither did the first introducer of the common meals, called 'phiditia,' regulate them well. The entertainment 31
ought to have been provided at the public cost, as in Crete[b]; but among the Lacedaemonians every one is expected to contribute, and some of them are too poor to afford the expense; thus the intention of the legislator is frustrated. The common meals were meant to be a 32
popular institution, but the existing manner of regulating them is the reverse of popular. For the very poor can scarcely take part in them; and, according to ancient custom, those who cannot contribute are not allowed to retain their rights of citizenship.

(8) The admiral another king. The law about the Spartan admirals has often been 33
censured, and with justice; it is a source of dissension, for the kings are perpetual generals[c], and this office of admiral is but the setting up of another king.

(9) The end of Spartan legislation a part of virtue only. The charge which Plato brings, in the Laws[d], against 1271 b.
the intention of the legislator, is likewise justified; the 34
whole constitution has regard to one part of virtue only,

[a] Cp. iii. 14 foll. [b] Cp. c. 10. §§ 7, 8. [c] Reading ἀϊδίοις.
[d] Laws, i. 630.

—the virtue of the soldier, which gives victory in war. II. 9.
And so long as they were at war, their power was preserved, but when they had attained empire they fell[a], for of the arts of peace they knew nothing, and had never
35 engaged in any employment higher than war. There is another error, equally great, into which they have fallen. Although they truly think that the goods for which they contend are to be acquired by virtue rather than by vice, they err in supposing that these goods are to be preferred to the virtue which gains them.

36 Once more: the revenues of the state are ill-managed; there is no money in the treasury, although they are obliged to carry on great wars, and they are unwilling to pay taxes. The greater part of the land being in the hands of the Spartans, they do not look closely into one
37 another's contributions. The result which the legislator has produced is the reverse of beneficial; for he has made his city poor, and his citizens greedy.

(10) Finance. Impatience of taxes and laxity in collecting them.

Enough respecting the Spartan constitution, of which these are the principal defects.

The Cretan constitution nearly resembles the Spartan, 10.
and in some few points is quite as good; but for the most part less perfect in form. The older constitutions are generally less elaborate than the later, and the Lacedaemonian is said to be, and probably is, in a very great
2 measure, a copy of the Cretan. According to tradition, Lycurgus, when he ceased to be the guardian of King Charilaus, went abroad and spent a long time in Crete. For the two countries are nearly connected; the Lyctians are a colony of the Lacedaemonians, and the colonists, when they came to Crete, adopted the constitution which
3 they found existing among the inhabitants. Even to this day the Perioeci, or subject population of Crete, are governed by the original laws which Minos enacted. The island seems to be intended by nature for dominion in Hellas, and to be well situated; it extends right across

Cretan institutions older than Spartan.

[a] Cp. vii. 14. § 22.

II. 10. the sea, around which nearly all the Hellenes are settled; and while one end is not far from the Peloponnese, the other almost reaches to the region of Asia about Triopium and Rhodes. Hence Minos acquired the 4 empire of the sea, subduing some of the islands and colonizing others; at last he invaded Sicily, where he died near Camicus.

Cretan and Spartan institutions compared.

The Cretan institutions resemble the Lacedaemonian. The Helots are the husbandmen of the one, the Perioeci 5 of the other, and both Cretans and Lacedaemonians have 1272a. common meals, which were anciently called by the Lacedaemonians not 'phiditia' but 'andria;' and the Cretans have the same word, the use of which proves that the common meals [or syssitia] originally came from Crete. Further, the two constitutions are similar [in many par- 6 ticulars]; for the office of the Ephors is the same as that of the Cretan Cosmi, the only difference being that whereas the Ephors are five, the Cosmi are ten in number. The elders, too, answer to the elders in Crete, who are termed by the Cretans the council. And the kingly office once existed in Crete, but was abolished, and the Cosmi have now the duty of leading them in war. All classes share in the ecclesia, but it can only 7 ratify the decrees of the elders and the Cosmi.

The Cretan common meals better managed than the Spartan.

The common meals of Crete are certainly better managed than the Lacedaemonian; for in Lacedaemon every one pays so much per head, or, if he fails, the law, as I have already explained, forbids him to exercise the rights of citizenship. But in Crete they are of a more 8 popular character. There, of all the fruits of the earth, of cattle, of the public revenues, and of the tribute which is paid by the Perioeci, one portion is assigned to the gods and to the service of the state, and another to the common meals, so that men, women, and children are all supported out of a common stock[a]. The legislator has 9 many ingenious ways of securing moderation in eating which he conceives to be a gain; he likewise encourages

[a] Cp. vii. 10. § 10.

the separation of men from women, lest they should have too many children, and the companionship of men with one another—whether this is a good or bad thing I shall have an opportunity of considering at another time[a]. But that the Cretan common meals are better ordered than the Lacedaemonian there can be no doubt. II. 10

On the other hand, the Cosmi are even a worse institution than the Ephors, of which they have all the evils without the good. Like the Ephors, they are any chance persons, but in Crete this is not counterbalanced by a corresponding political advantage. At Sparta every one is eligible, and the body of the people, having a share in the highest office, want the state to be permanent[b]. But in Crete the Cosmi are elected out of certain families, and not out of the whole people, and the elders out of those who have been Cosmi. But the Cosmi a worse institution than the Ephors.

The same criticism may be made about the Cretan, which has been already made about the Lacedaemonian elders. Their irresponsibility and life tenure is too great a privilege, and their arbitrary power of acting upon their own judgment, and dispensing with written law, is dangerous. It is no proof of the goodness of the institution that the people are not discontented at being excluded from it. For there is no profit to be made out of the office; and, unlike the Ephors, the Cosmi, being in an island, are removed from temptation. The elders.

The remedy by which they correct the evil of this institution is an extraordinary one, suited rather to a close oligarchy than to a constitutional state. For the Cosmi are often expelled by a conspiracy of their own colleagues, or of private individuals; and they are allowed also to resign before their term of office has expired. Surely all matters of this kind are better regulated by law than by the will of man, which is a very unsafe rule. Injudicious remedies of political evils.

Worst of all is the suspension of the office of Cosmi, a device to which the nobles often have recourse when they will not submit to justice. This shows that the Cretan

[a] vii. 16 (?). [b] Cp. supra, c. 9. § 21.

II. 10. government, although possessing some of the characteristics of a constitutional state, is really a close oligarchy.

The Cretans have a habit, too, of setting up a chief; they get together a party among the common people and gather their friends and then quarrel and fight with one another. What is this but the temporary destruction of the state and dissolution of society? A city is in a dangerous condition when those who are willing are also able to attack her. But, as I have already said, the island of Crete is saved by her situation; distance has the same effect as the Lacedaemonian prohibition of strangers; and the Cretans have no foreign dominions. This is the reason why the Perioeci are contented in Crete, whereas the Helots are perpetually revolting. But when lately foreign invaders found their way into the island, the weakness of the Cretan constitution was revealed. Enough of the government of Crete.

Crete saved from revolution by her insular position.

11. The Carthaginians are also considered to have an excellent form of government, which differs from that of any other state in several respects, though it is in some very like the Lacedaemonian. Indeed, all three states—the Lacedaemonian, the Cretan, and the Carthaginian—nearly resemble one another, and are very different from any others. Many of the Carthaginian institutions are excellent. The superiority of their constitution is proved by the fact that, although containing an element of democracy, it has been lasting; the Carthaginians have never had any rebellion worth speaking of, and have never been under the rule of a tyrant.

Merits of Carthaginian institutions:

Among the points in which the Carthaginian constitution resembles the Lacedaemonian are the following:— The common tables of the clubs answer to the Spartan phiditia, and their magistracy of the 104 to the Ephors; but, whereas the Ephors are any chance persons, the magistrates of the Carthaginians are elected according to merit — this is an improvement. They have also their kings and their gerusia, or council of elders, who correspond to the kings and elders of Sparta. Their kings, unlike the

wherein they resemble the Spartan.

Spartan, are not always of the same family, whatever that may happen to be, but if there is some distinguished family they are selected out of it and not appointed by seniority — this is far better. Such officers have great power, and therefore, if they are persons of little worth, 1273a. do a great deal of harm, and they have already done harm at Lacedaemon. II. 11.

The constitution has (1) some democratical,

5 Most of the defects or deviations from the perfect state, for which the Carthaginian constitution would be censured, apply equally to all the forms of government which we have mentioned. But of the deflections from aristocracy and constitutional government, some incline more to democracy and some to oligarchy. The kings and elders, if unanimous, may determine whether they will or will not bring a matter before the people, but when they are not unanimous, the people may decide whether 6 or not the matter shall be brought forward. And whatever the kings and elders bring before the people is not only heard but also determined by them, and any one who likes may oppose it; now this is not permitted in 7 Sparta and Crete. That the magistracies of five who have under them many important matters should be co-opted, that they should choose the supreme council of 100, and should hold office longer than other magistrates (for they are virtually rulers both before and after they hold office)—these are oligarchical features; their being without salary and not elected by lot, and any similar points, such as the practice of having all suits tried by the magistrates[a], and not some by one class of judges or jurors and some by another, as at Lacedaemon, are cha- 8 racteristic of aristocracy. The Carthaginian constitution deviates from aristocracy and inclines to oligarchy, chiefly on a point where popular opinion is on their side. For men in general think that magistrates should be chosen not only for their merit, but for their wealth: a man, they say, who is poor cannot rule well,—he has not the 9 leisure. If, then, election of magistrates for their wealth

(2) some oligarchical features.

[a] Cp. iii. 1. §§ 10, 11; and see note at end.

II. 11. be characteristic of oligarchy, and election for merit of aristocracy, there will be a third form under which the constitution of Carthage is comprehended; for the Carthaginians choose their magistrates, and particularly the highest of them—their kings and generals—with an eye both to merit and to wealth.

Need of leisure and therefore of wealth in the official class;

But we must acknowledge that, in thus deviating from 10
aristocracy, the legislator has committed an error. Nothing is more absolutely necessary than to provide that the highest class, not only when in office, but when out of office, should have leisure and not demean themselves in any way; and to this his attention should be first directed. Even if you must have regard to wealth, in order to secure leisure, yet it is surely a bad thing that the greatest offices, such as those of kings and generals, should be bought. The law which allows this abuse 11
but the sale of offices a gross abuse and a bad example.
makes wealth of more account than virtue, and the whole state becomes avaricious. For, whenever the chiefs of the state deem anything honourable, the other citizens are sure to follow their example; and, where virtue has not the first place, there aristocracy cannot be firmly 1273b.
established. Those who have been at the expense of 12
purchasing their places will be in the habit of repaying themselves; and it is absurd to suppose that a poor and honest man will be wanting to make gains, and that a lower stamp of man who has incurred a great expense will not. Wherefore they should rule who are able to rule best [ἀριστα ρχεῖν]. And even if the legislator does not care to protect the good from poverty, he should at any rate secure leisure for those in office[a].

Pluralism among the Carthaginians.

It would seem also to be a bad principle that the same 13
person should hold many offices, which is a favourite practice among the Carthaginians, for one business is better done by one man[b]. The legislator should see to this and should not appoint the same person to be a flute-player and a shoemaker. Hence, where the state 14

[a] Cp. c. 9. § 2.

[b] Cp. Plato, Rep. ii. 374 A.

is large, it is more in accordance both with constitutional and with democratic principles that the offices of state should be distributed among many persons. For, as I was saying, this arrangement is more popular, and any action familiarised by repetition is better and sooner performed. We have a proof in military and naval matters; the duties of command and of obedience in both these services extend to all. II. 11:

15 The government of the Carthaginians is oligarchical, but they successfully escape the evils of oligarchy by their wealth, which enables them from time to time to send out some portion of the people[a] to their colonies. This is their panacea and the means by which they give stability to the state. Accident favours them, but the legislator should be able to provide against revolution 16 without trusting to accidents. As things are, if any misfortune occurred, and the people revolted from their rulers, there would be no way of restoring peace by legal methods. Emigration a panacea against revolution.

Such is the character of the Lacedaemonian, Cretan, and Carthaginian constitutions, which are justly celebrated.

Of those who have treated of governments, some have never taken any part at all in public affairs, but have passed their lives in a private station; about most of them, what was worth telling has been already told. Others have been lawgivers, either in their own or in foreign cities, whose affairs they have administered; and of these some have only made laws, others have framed constitutions; for example, Lycurgus and Solon 2 did both. Of the Lacedaemonian constitution I have already spoken. As to Solon, he is thought by some to have been a good legislator, who put an end to the exclusiveness of the oligarchy, emancipated the people, 12. Political writers and law-givers. Solon praised by some because he broke up the oligarchy.

[a] Or, removing the comma after πλουτεῖν, and adding one after μέρος, 'by enriching one portion of the people after another whom they send to their colonies.' Cp. vi. 5. § 9, which tends to confirm this way of taking the words.

II. 12. established the ancient Athenian democracy, and harmonized the different elements of the state. According to their view, the council of Areopagus was an oligarchical element, the elected magistracy, aristocratical, and the courts of law, democratical. The truth seems to be that 1274a.
3 the council and the elected magistracy existed before the time of Solon, and were retained by him, but that he formed the courts of law out of all the citizens, thus creating the democracy, which is the very reason why he is sometimes blamed. For in giving the supreme power to the law courts, which are elected by lot, he is thought to have destroyed the non-democratic element. When
4 the law courts grew powerful, to please the people, who were now playing the tyrant, the old constitution was changed into the existing democracy. Ephialtes and Pericles curtailed the power of the Areopagus; they also instituted the payment of the juries, and thus every demagogue in turn increased the power of the democracy until it became what we now see. All this is true;
5 it seems however to be the result of circumstances, and not to have been intended by Solon. For the people having been instrumental in gaining the empire of the sea in the Persian War[a], began to get a notion of itself, and followed worthless demagogues, whom the better class opposed. Solon, himself, appears to have given the Athenians only that power of electing to offices and calling to account the magistrates, which was absolutely necessary[b]; for without it they would have been in a state of slavery and enmity to the government. All the
6 magistrates he appointed from the notables and the men of wealth, that is to say, from the pentacosio-medimni, or from the class called zeugitae (because they kept a yoke of oxen), or from a third class of so-called knights or cavalry. The fourth class were labourers who had no share in any magistracy.

Mere legislators were Zaleucus, who gave laws to the

blamed by others because he founded the democracy. In reality he only established the law courts.

Things afterwards grew worse and worse, but this was not his fault.

[a] Cp. v. 4. § 8; viii. 6. § 11. [b] Cp. iii. 11. § 8.

Epizephyrian Locrians, and Charondas, who legislated for his own city of Catana, and for the other Chalcidian cities in Italy and Sicily. Some persons attempt [a] to make out that Onomacritus was the first person who had any special skill in legislation[a], and that he, although a Locrian by birth, was trained in Crete, where he lived in the exercise of his prophetic art; that Thales was his companion, and that Lycurgus and Zaleucus were disciples of Thales, as Charondas was of Zaleucus. But their account is quite inconsistent with chronology. II. 12. Charondas. Onomacritus.

There was also a Theban legislator, whose name was Philolaus, the Corinthian. This Philolaus was one of the family of the Bacchiadae, and a lover of Diocles, the Olympic victor, who left Corinth in horror of the incestuous passion which his mother Halcyone had conceived for him, and retired to Thebes, where the two friends together ended their days. The inhabitants still point out their tombs, which are in full view of one another, but one looks towards Corinth, the other not. Tradition says that the two friends arranged them in this way, Diocles out of horror at his misfortunes, so that the land of Corinth might not be visible from his tomb; Philolaus that it might. This is the reason why they settled at Thebes, and so Philolaus legislated for the Thebans, and, besides some other enactments, gave them laws about the procreation of children, which they call the 'Laws of Adoption.' These laws were peculiar to him, and were intended to preserve the number of the lots. Philolaus, a Corinthian who settled at Thebes, gave laws to the Thebans.

In the legislation of Charondas there is nothing remarkable, except the laws about false witnesses. He is the first who instituted actions for perjury. His laws are more exact and more precisely expressed than even those of our modern legislators. Charondas.

Characteristic of Phaleas is the equalization of property; of Plato, the community of women, children, and property, the common meals of women, and the law Stray remarks about Phaleas and Plato.

[a] Or (with Bernays), 'to make out an unbroken series of great legislators, Onomacritus being considered the first.'

II. 12. about drinking, that the sober shall be masters of the feast[a]; also the training of soldiers to acquire by practice equal skill with both hands, so that one should be as useful as the other[b].

Draco. Draco has left laws, but he adapted them to a consti- 13
tution which already existed, and there is no peculiarity in them which is worth mentioning, except the greatness and severity of the punishments.

Pittacus. Pittacus, too, was only a lawgiver, and not the author of a constitution; he has a law which is peculiar to him, that, if a drunken man strike another, he shall be more heavily punished than if he were sober[c]; he looked not to the excuse which might be offered for the drunkard, but only to expediency, for drunken more often than sober people commit acts of violence.

Androdamas. Androdamas of Rhegium gave laws to the Chalci- 14
dians of Thrace. Some of them relate to homicide, and to heiresses; but there is nothing remarkable in them.

And here let us conclude our enquiry into the various constitutions which either actually exist, or have been devised by theorists.

[a] Cp. Laws, ii. 671 D-672 A. [b] Cp. Laws, vii. 794 D.
[c] Cp. N. Eth. iii. 5. § 8.

BOOK III.

HE who would enquire into the nature and various kinds of government must first of all determine 'What is a state?' At present this is a disputed question. Some say that the state has done a certain act; others, no, not the state[a], but the oligarchy or the tyrant. And the legislator or statesman is concerned entirely with the state; a constitution or government being an arrangement of the
2 inhabitants of a state. But a state is composite, and, like any other whole, made up of many parts;—these are the citizens, who compose it. It is evident, therefore,
1275 a. that we must begin by asking, Who is the citizen, and what is the meaning of the term? For here again there may be a difference of opinion. He who is a citizen in a democracy will often not be a citizen in an oligarchy.
3 Leaving out of consideration those who have been made citizens, or who have obtained the name of citizen in any other accidental manner, we may say, first, that a citizen
4 is not a citizen because he lives in a certain place, for resident aliens and slaves share in the place; nor is he a citizen who has no legal right except that of suing and being sued; for this right may be enjoyed under the provisions of a treaty. Even resident aliens in many places possess such rights, although in an imperfect
5 form; for they are obliged to have a patron. Hence they do but imperfectly participate in citizenship, and we call them citizens only in a qualified sense, as we might apply the term to children who are too young to be on the register, or to old men who have been relieved from state duties. Of these we do not say simply that they are citizens, but add in the one case that they are

III. 1. What is a state?

A question which leads to another, who is a citizen?

Neither residence nor merely legal rights are sufficient to constitute perfect citizenship.

[a] Cp. c. 3. § 1.

III. 1. not of age, and in the other, that they are past the age, or something of that sort; the precise expression is immaterial, for our meaning is clear. Similar difficulties to those which I have mentioned may be raised and answered about deprived citizens and about exiles. But

The citizen is he who shares in 'indefinite office.'

the citizen, whom we are seeking to define, is a citizen in the strictest sense, against whom no such exception can be taken, and his special characteristic is that he shares in the administration of justice, and in offices. Now of 6 offices some have a limit of time, and the same persons are not allowed to hold them twice, or can only hold them after a fixed interval; others have no limit of time, —for example, the office of dicast or ecclesiast[a]. It may, 7 indeed, be argued that these are not magistrates at all, and that their functions give them no share in the government. But surely it is ridiculous to say that those who have the supreme power do not govern. Not to dwell further upon this, which is a purely verbal question, what we want is a common term including both dicast and ecclesiast. Let us, for the sake of distinction, call it 'indefinite office,' and we will assume that those who share in such office are citizens. This is the most comprehen- 8 sive definition of a citizen, and best suits all those who are generally so called.

But we must not forget that things of which the underlying notions differ in kind, one of them being first, another second, another third, have, when regarded in this relation, nothing, or hardly anything, worth mentioning in common. Now we see that governments 9 differ in kind, and that some of them are prior and that others are posterior; those which are faulty or perverted 1275b are necessarily posterior to those which are perfect. (What we mean by perversion will be hereafter explained[b].)

This definition, strictly taken, suits only democratic states,

The citizen then of necessity differs under each form of government; and our definition is best 10 adapted to the citizen of a democracy; but not neces-

[a] 'Dicast' = juryman and judge in one: 'ecclesiast' = member of the ecclesia or assembly of the citizens. [b] Cp. c. 6. § 11.

sarily to other states. For in some states the people are not acknowledged, nor have they any regular assembly, but only extraordinary ones; and suits are distributed in turn among the magistrates. At Lacedaemon, for instance, the Ephors determine suits about contracts, which they distribute among themselves, while the elders are judges of homicide, and other causes are decided
11 by other magistrates. A similar principle prevails at Carthage[a]; there certain magistrates decide all causes. We may, indeed, modify our definition of the citizen so as to include these states. [But strictly taken it only applies in democracies.] In other states it is the holder of a definite, not of an indefinite office, who legislates and judges, and to some or all such holders of definite offices is reserved the right of deliberating or judging
12 about some things or about all things. The conception of the citizen now begins to clear up.

III. 1. and must be modified when extended to others.

He who has the power to take part in the deliberative or judicial administration of any state is said by us to be a citizen of that state; and speaking generally, a state is a body of citizens sufficing for the purposes of life.

But in practice a citizen is defined to be one of whom both the parents are citizens; others insist on going further back; say to two or three or more grandparents. This is a short and practical definition; but there are some who raise the further question: How this third or
2 fourth ancestor came to be a citizen? Gorgias of Leontini, partly because he was in a difficulty, partly in irony, said—'Mortars are made by the mortar-makers, and the citizens of Larissa are also a manufactured article, made, like the kettles which bear their name [λαρισαῖοι],
3 by the magistrates[b].' Yet the question is really simple, for, if according to the definition just given they shared in the government[c], they were citizens. [This is a better definition than the other.] For the words, 'born of a

2. Practically the citizen is the son of a citizen.

But how about the first citizen?

[a] Cp. ii. 11. § 7.

[b] An untranslateable play upon the word δημιουργοί, which means either 'a magistrate' or 'an artisan.'

[c] Cp. c. 1. § 12.

III. 2. father or mother, who is a citizen,' cannot possibly apply to the first inhabitants or founders of a state.

Is the citizen *de facto* also citizen *de jure*?

There is a greater difficulty in the case of those who have been made citizens after a revolution, as by Cleisthenes at Athens after the expulsion of the tyrants, for he enrolled in tribes a number of strangers and slaves and [a] resident aliens. The doubt in these cases is, not 4 who is, but whether he, who is, ought to be a citizen; and there will still be a further doubt, whether he who 1276a. ought not to be a citizen, is one in fact, for what ought not to be is what is false and is not. Now, there are 5 some who hold office, and yet ought not to hold office, whom we call rulers, although they rule unjustly. And the citizen was defined by the fact of his holding some kind of rule or office,—he who holds a judicial or legislative office fulfils our definition of a citizen. It is evident, therefore, that the citizens about whom the doubt has arisen must be called citizens; whether they ought to be so or not is a question which is bound up with the previous enquiry [b].

3. When is an act the act of the state?

A parallel question is raised respecting the state whether a certain act is or is not an act of the state; for example, in the transition from an oligarchy or a tyranny to a democracy. In such cases persons refuse 2 to fulfil their contracts or any other obligations, on the ground that the tyrant, and not the state, contracted them; they argue that some constitutions are established by force, and not for the sake of the common good. But this would apply equally to democracies, for they too may be founded on violence, and then the acts of the democracy will be neither more nor less legitimate than those of an oligarchy or of a tyranny. This question runs 3 up into another:—when shall we say that the state is the

[a] Inserting *καί* before *μετοίκους* with Bekker in his second edition. If *καί* is omitted, as in all the MSS, we must translate—'he enrolled in tribes many metics, both strangers and slaves:' or, 'he enrolled in tribes many strangers, and metics who had been slaves.'

[b] Cp. c. 1. § 1.

same, and when different? It would be a very superficial view which considered only the place and the inhabitants; for the soil and the population may be separated, and some of the inhabitants may live in one place and some
4 in another. This, however, is not a very serious difficulty; we need only remark that the word 'state' is ambiguous, meaning both state and city. III. 3. The identity

It is further asked: When are men living in the same place, to be regarded as a single city—what is the limit? and the unity of a state depend not so much on place,
5 Certainly not the wall of the city, for you might surround all Peloponnesus with a wall. But a city, having such vast circuit, would contain a nation rather than a state, like Babylon[a], which, as they say, had been taken for three days before some part of the inhabitants became
6 aware of the fact. This difficulty may, however, with advantage be deferred[b] to another occasion; the statesman has to consider the size of the state, and whether it should consist of more than one nation or not.

Again, shall we say that while the race of inhabitants, as well as their place of abode, remain the same, the city is also the same, although the citizens are always dying and being born, as we call rivers and fountains the same, although the water is always flowing away and coming again? Or shall we say that the generations of men, like
1276b. the rivers, are the same, but that the state changes? For,
7 since the state is a community and a community is made up of citizens, when the form of the government changes and becomes different, then it may be supposed that the state is no longer the same, just as a tragic differs from a comic chorus, although the members of both may be
8 identical. And in this manner we speak of every union or composition of elements, when the form of their composition alters; for example, harmony of the same sounds is said to be different, accordingly as the Dorian or the
9 Phrygian mode is employed. And if this is true it is evident that the sameness of the state consists chiefly in the sameness of the constitution, and may be called or nor yet on race, but mainly on the sameness of the constitution.

[a] Cp. ii. 6. § 6. [b] Cp. vii. c. 4 and c. 5.

III. 3. not called by the same name, whether the inhabitants are the same or entirely different. It is quite another question, whether a state ought or ought not to fulfil engagements when the form of government changes.

4. There is a point nearly allied to the preceding: Whether the virtue of a good man and a good citizen is the same or not[a]. But, before entering on this discussion, we must first obtain some general notion of the virtue of the citizen. Like the sailor, the citizen is a member of a community. Now, sailors have different functions, for one of them is a rower, another a pilot, and a third a look-out-man, a fourth is described by some similar term; and while the precise definition of each individual's virtue applies exclusively to him, there is, at the same time, a common definition applicable to them all. For they have all of them a common object, which is safety in navigation. Similarly, one citizen differs from another, but the salvation of the community is the common business of them all. This community is the state; the virtue of the citizen must therefore be relative to the constitution of which he is a member. If, then, there are many forms of government, it is evident that the virtue of the good citizen cannot be the one perfect virtue. But we say that the good man is he who has perfect virtue. Hence it is evident that the good citizen need not of necessity possess the virtue which makes a good man.

Is the virtue of the good man the same as that of the good citizen?

The virtue of the citizen differs in different states, and therefore cannot always be the same as that of the good man.

The same question may also be approached by another road, from a consideration of the perfect state. If the state cannot be entirely composed of good men, and each citizen is expected to do his own business well, and must therefore have virtue, inasmuch as all the citizens cannot be alike, the virtue of the citizen and of the good man cannot coincide. All must have the virtue of the good citizen —thus, and thus only, can the state be perfect; but they will not have the virtue of a good man, unless we assume that in the good state all the citizens must be good.

Even in the perfect state, though all are good citizens, they are not necessarily good men.

[a] Cp. N. Eth. v. 2. § 11.

6 Again, the state may be compared to the living being: as the first elements into which the living being is resolved are soul and body, as the soul is made up of reason and appetite, the family of husband and wife, property of master and slave, so out of all these, as well as other dissimilar elements, the state is composed; and, therefore, the virtue of all the citizens cannot possibly be the same, any more than the excellence of the leader of a chorus is the same as that of the performer who stands 7 by his side. I have said enough to show why the two kinds of virtue cannot be absolutely and always the same.

III. 4.

The citizens differ among themselves, and therefore cannot all have the same virtue.

But will there then be no case in which the virtue of the good citizen and the virtue of the good man coincide? To this we answer [not that the good citizen, but] that the good ruler is a good and wise man, and that he who would be a statesman must be a wise man. 8 And some persons say that even the education of the ruler should be of a special kind; for are not the children of kings instructed in riding and military exercises? As Euripides says:

The good ruler is the good man.

'No subtle arts for me, but what the state requires.'[a]

As though there were a special education needed by 9 a ruler. If then the virtue of a good ruler is the same as that of a good man, and we assume further that the subject is a citizen as well as the ruler, the virtue of the good citizen and the virtue of the good man cannot be always the same, although in some cases [i.e. in the perfect state] they may; for the virtue of a ruler differs from that of a citizen. It was the sense of this difference which made Jason say that 'he felt hungry when he was not a tyrant,' meaning that he could not endure to live 10 in a private station. But, on the other hand, it may be argued that men are praised for knowing both how to rule and how to obey, and he is said to be a citizen of approved virtue who is able to do both. Now if we suppose the virtue of a good man to be that which rules,

But are not all the citizens rulers in turn?

[a] Fragment from the Aeolus, quoted in Stobaeus, 45. 13.

III. 4. and the virtue of the citizen to include ruling and obeying, it cannot be said that they are equally worthy of praise.

Yes; by obedience they learn to rule.

Seeing, then, that according to common opinion the ruler 11
and the ruled must at some time or other learn the duties of both, but that what they learn is different, and that the citizen must know and share in them both; the inference is obvious[a]. There is, indeed, the rule of a master which is concerned with menial offices[b],—the

The obedience is not such as that of slaves or mechanics,

master need not know how to perform these, but may employ others in the execution of them: anything else would be degrading; and by anything else I mean the 12
menial duties which vary much in character and are executed by various classes of slaves, such, for example, as handicraftsmen, who, as their name signifies, live by the labour of their hands:—under these the mechanic is 1277b.
included. Hence in ancient times, and among some nations, the working classes had no share in the government—a privilege which they only acquired under the extreme democracy. Certainly the good man and the 13
statesman and the good citizen ought not to learn the crafts of inferiors except for their own occasional use[c]; if they habitually practise them, there will cease to be a distinction between master and slave.

but the obedience of freemen in a constitutional state.

This is not the rule of which we are speaking; but 14
there is a rule of another kind, which is exercised over freemen and equals by birth—a constitutional rule, which the ruler must learn by obeying, as he would learn the duties of a general of cavalry by being under the orders of a general of cavalry, or the duties of a general of infantry by being under the orders of a general of infantry, or by having had the command of a company or brigade. It has been well said that 'he who has never learned to obey cannot be a good commander.' The 15
two are not the same, but the good citizen ought to be capable of both; he should know how to govern like a

[a] Viz. that some kind of previous subjection is an advantage to the ruler. Cp. infra, § 14.

[b] Cp. i. 7. §§ 2-5.

[c] Cp. viii. 2. § 5.

freeman, and how to obey like a freeman—these are the III. 4.
16 virtues of a citizen. And, although the temperance and justice of a ruler are distinct from those of a subject, the virtue of a good man will include both; for the good man, who is free and also a subject, will not have one virtue only, say justice,—but he will have distinct kinds of virtue, the one qualifying him to rule, the other to obey, and differing as the temperance and courage of men and women
17 differ[a]. For a man would be thought a coward if he had no more courage than a courageous woman, and a woman would be thought loquacious if she imposed no more restraint on her conversation than the good man; and indeed their part in the management of the household is different, for the duty of the one is to acquire, and of the other to preserve. Practical wisdom only is characteristic of the ruler[b]: it would seem that all other virtues must
18 equally belong to ruler and subject. The virtue of the subject is certainly not wisdom, but only true opinion; he may be compared to the maker of the flute, while his master is like the flute-player or user of the flute[c].

Practical wisdom is the virtue of the ruler.

From these considerations may be gathered the answer to the question, whether the virtue of the good man is the same as that of the good citizen, or different, and how far the same, and how far different[d].

There still remains one more question about the 5.
citizen. Is he only a true citizen who has a share of office, or is the mechanic to be included? If they who hold no office are to be deemed citizens, not every citizen can have this virtue of ruling and obeying[e] which makes a citizen[e]. And if none of the lower class are citizens, in which part of the state are they to be placed? For they are not resident aliens, and they are not foreigners.

Is the mechanic a citizen?

[a] Cp. i. 13. § 9. [b] Cp. Rep. iv. 428. [c] Cp. Rep. x. 601 D, E.
[d] Cp. c. 5. § 10; c. 18. § 1; iv. 7. § 2; vii. 14. § 8.
[e] Or, 'for this man (i. e. the meaner sort of man) is a citizen and does not exercise rule' (see below, § 3, *εἰ δὲ καὶ οὗτος πολίτης*). According to the way of taking the passage which is followed in the text, *οὗτος* = *ὁ ἔχων τὴν τοιαύτην ἀρετήν*: according to the second way, it refers to *βάναυσος*.

III. 5. To this objection may we not reply, that there is no 1278a
more absurdity in excluding them than in excluding 2
slaves and freedmen from any of the above-mentioned
classes? It must be admitted that we cannot consider all
those to be citizens who are necessary to the existence
of the state; for example, children are not citizens
equally with grown up men, who are citizens absolutely,
but children, not being grown up, are only citizens in a
qualified sense. Doubtless in ancient times, and among 3
some nations, the artisan class were slaves or foreigners,
and therefore the majority of them are so now. The
best form of state will not admit them to citizenship;
but if they are admitted, then our definition of the
virtue of a citizen will apply to some citizens and free-
men only, and not to those who work for their living.
The latter class, to whom toil is a necessity, are either 4
slaves who minister to the wants of individuals, or
mechanics and labourers who are the servants of the
community. These reflections carried a little further
will explain their position; and indeed what has been
said already is of itself explanation enough.

Since there are many forms of government there must 5
be many varieties of citizens, and especially of citizens
who are subjects; so that under some governments the
mechanic and the labourer will be citizens, but not in
others, as, for example, in aristocracy or the so-called
government of the best (if there be such an one), in
which honours are given according to virtue and merit;
for no man can practise virtue who is living the life of a
mechanic or labourer. In oligarchies the qualification 6
for office is high, and therefore no labourer can ever be
a citizen; but a mechanic may, for many of them are
rich. At Thebes[a] there was a law that no man could 7
hold office who had not retired from business for ten
years. In many states the law goes to the length of
admitting aliens; for in some democracies a man is a
citizen though his mother only be a citizen [and his

He is necessary to the existence of a state, but not a part of it, and

therefore in the best state not a citizen at all.

Citizenship relative to the constitution.

[a] Cp. vi. 7. § 4.

father an alien]; and a similar principle is applied to
8 illegitimate children; the law is relaxed when there is a dearth of population. But when the number of citizens increases, first the children of a male or a female slave are excluded; then those whose mothers only are citizens; and at last the right of citizenship is confined to those whose fathers and mothers are both citizens.

The true citizen shares in the honours of state.

9 Hence, as is evident, there are different kinds of citizens; and he is a citizen in the highest sense who shares in the honours of the state. In the poems of Homer [Achilles complains of Agamemnon treating him] 'like some dishonoured stranger[b];' for he who is excluded from the honours of the state is no better than an alien. But when this exclusion is concealed, then the object is to deceive the inhabitants.

Final answer to the question 'whether the good citizen is the good man.'

1278b. 10 As to the question whether the virtue of the good man is the same as that of the good citizen, the considerations already adduced prove that in some states the two are the same, and in others different. When they are the same it is not the virtue of every citizen which is the same as that of the good man, but only the virtue of the statesman and of those who have or may have, alone or in conjunction with others, the conduct of public affairs.

6.

Having determined these questions, we have next to consider whether there is only one form of government or many, and if many, what they are, and how many, and what are the differences between them.

Constitutions vary with the governing power and in relation to the end.

A constitution is the arrangement of magistracies in a state[c], especially of the highest of all. The government is everywhere sovereign in the state, and the constitution
2 is in fact the government. For example, in democracies the people are supreme, but in oligarchies, the few; and, therefore, we say that these two forms of government are different: and so in other cases.

What is the end of the state?

First, let us consider what is the purpose of a state, and how many forms of government there are by which
3 human society is regulated. We have already said, in

[a] Cp. v. 4. § 16. [b] Il. ix. 648. [c] Cp. c. 1. § 1; iv. 1. § 10.

III. 6. the former part of this treatise[a], when drawing a distinction between household-management and the rule of a master, that man is by nature a political animal. And therefore, men, even when they do not require one another's help, desire to live together all the same, and are in fact brought together by their common interests in proportion as they severally attain to any measure of well-being. This is certainly the chief end, both of 4
individuals and of states. And also for the sake of mere life (in which there is possibly some noble element) mankind meet together and maintain the political community, so long as the evils of existence do not greatly overbalance the good[b]. And we all see that men cling 5
to life even in the midst of misfortune, seeming to find in it a natural sweetness and happiness.

The various kinds of rule.

There is no difficulty in distinguishing the various kinds of authority; they have been often defined already in popular works[c]. The rule of a master, although 6
the slave by nature and the master by nature have in reality the same interests, is nevertheless exercised primarily with a view to the interest of the master, but accidentally considers the slave, since, if the slave perish, the rule of the master perishes with him. On the other 7
hand, the government of a wife and children and of a household, which we have called household-management,

Rule is primarily intended for the good of the governed,

is exercised in the first instance for the good of the governed or for the common good of both parties, but essentially for the good of the governed, as we see to be the case in medicine, gymnastic, and the arts in 1279a
general, which are only accidentally concerned with the good of the artists themselves[d]. (For there is no reason why the trainer may not sometimes practise gymnastics, and the pilot is always one of the crew.) The 8
trainer or the pilot considers the good of those committed to his care. But, when he is one of the persons taken care of, he accidentally participates in the ad-

[a] Cp. i. 2. §§ 9, 10.
[b] Cp. Plato Polit. 302 A.
[c] Or, 'in our popular works.'
[d] Cp. Pl. Rep. i. 341 D.

vantage, for the pilot is also a sailor, and the trainer III. 6.
9 becomes one of those in training. And so in politics: when the state is framed upon the principle of equality and likeness, the citizens think that they ought to hold office by turns. In the order of nature every one would take his turn of service; and then again, somebody else would look after his interest, just as he, while in office, had looked after theirs[a]. [That was originally the
10 way.] But now-a-days, for the sake of the advantage which is to be gained from the public revenues and from office, men want to be always in office. One might imagine that the rulers, being sickly, were only kept in health while they continued in office; in that case we may be sure that they would be hunting after places.
11 The conclusion is evident: that governments, which have a regard to the common interest, are constituted in accordance with strict principles of justice, and are therefore true forms; but those which regard only the interest of the rulers are all defective and perverted forms, for they are despotic, whereas a state is a community of freemen.

and is perverted when exercised in the interests of the ruler.

7.

Having determined these points, we have next to consider how many forms of government there are, and what they are; and in the first place what are the true forms, for when they are determined the perversions of
2 them will at once be apparent. The words constitution and government have the same meaning, and the government, which is the supreme authority in states, must be in the hands of one, or of a few, or of many. The true forms of government, therefore, are those in which the one, or the few, or the many, govern with a view to the common interest; but governments which rule with a view to the private interest, whether of the one, or of the few, or of the many, are perversions[b]. For citizens, if they are truly citizens, ought to participate in the advantages of a state. Of forms of government in which one
3 rules, we call that which regards the common interests,

Forms of government, true and perverted.

(a) The true forms.

(1) Royalty, or the rule of one.

[a] Cp. ii. 2. §§ 6, 7.

[b] Cp. Eth. viii. 10.

III. 7. kingship or royalty; that in which more than one, but not many, rule, aristocracy [the rule of the best]; and it is so called, either because the rulers are the best men, or because they have at heart the best interests of the state and of the citizens. But when the citizens at large administer the state for the common interest, the government is called by the generic name,—a constitution [πολιτεία]. And there is a reason for this use of language. One man or a few may excel in virtue; but of virtue there are many kinds: and as the number increases it becomes more difficult for them to attain perfection in every kind, though they may in military virtue, for this is found in the masses. Hence, in a constitutional government the fighting-men have the supreme power, and those who possess arms are the citizens.

(2) Aristocracy of a few.

(3) 'Polity' of the citizens at large.

(But all for the sake of the governed.)

1279b

(b) The perversions. (1) tyranny, (2) oligarchy, (3) democracy.

Of the above-mentioned forms, the perversions are as follows:—of royalty, tyranny; of aristocracy, oligarchy; of constitutional government, democracy. For tyranny is a kind of monarchy which has in view the interest of the monarch only; oligarchy has in view the interest of the wealthy; democracy, of the needy: none of them the common good of all.

8. But there are difficulties about these forms of government, and it will therefore be necessary to state a little more at length the nature of each of them. For he who would make a philosophical study of the various sciences, and does not regard practice only, ought not to overlook or omit anything, but to set forth the truth in every particular. Tyranny, as I was saying, is monarchy exercising the rule of a master over political society; oligarchy is when men of property have the government in their hands; democracy, the opposite, when the indigent, and not the men of property, are the rulers. And here arises the first of our difficulties, and it relates to the definition just given. For democracy is said to be the government of the many. But what if the many are men of property and have the power in their hands? In like manner oligarchy is said to be the government

The division however must not be made to depend merely on a principle of number (quantity).

of the few; but what if the poor are fewer than the rich, and have the power in their hands because they are stronger? In these cases the distinction which we have drawn between these different forms of government would no longer hold good. III. 8.

4 Suppose, once more, that we add wealth to the few and poverty to the many, and name the governments accordingly—an oligarchy is said to be that in which the few and the wealthy, and a democracy that in which the many and the poor are the rulers—there will still be
5 a difficulty. For, if the only forms of government are the ones already mentioned, how shall we describe those other governments also just mentioned by us, in which the rich are the more numerous and the poor are the fewer, and both govern in their respective states?

Wealth and poverty (quantity) must also be considered.

6 The argument seems to show that, whether in oligarchies or in democracies, the number of the governing body, whether the greater number, as in a democracy, or the smaller number, as in an oligarchy, is an accident due to the fact that the rich everywhere are few, and the poor numerous. But if so, there is a misapprehen-
7 sion of the causes of the difference between them. For the real difference between democracy and oligarchy is
1280 a. poverty and wealth. Wherever men rule by reason of their wealth, whether they be few or many, that is an oligarchy, and where the poor rule, that is a democracy. But as a fact the rich are few and the poor many: for few are well-to-do, whereas freedom is enjoyed by all, and wealth and freedom are the grounds on which the oligarchical and democratical parties respectively claim power in the state.

The qualitative is the essential and the quantitative the accidental difference, though in fact they generally coincide.

Let us begin by considering the common definitions of oligarchy and democracy, and what is justice oligarchical and democratical. For all men cling to justice of some kind, but their conceptions are imperfect and they do not express the whole idea. For example, justice is thought by them to be, and is, equality, not
2 however, for all, but only for equals. And inequality is 9.

Justice is equality to equals.

III. 9. thought to be, and is, justice; neither is this for all, but only for unequals. When the persons are omitted, then men judge erroneously. The reason is that they are passing judgment on themselves, and most people are bad judges in their own case. And whereas justice implies a relation to persons as well as to things, and a just distribution, as I have already said in the Ethics[a], embraces alike persons and things, they acknowledge the equality of the things, but dispute about the merit of the persons, chiefly for the reason which I have just given,—because they are bad judges in their own affairs; and secondly, because both the parties to the argument are speaking of a limited and partial justice, but imagine themselves to be speaking of absolute justice. For those who are unequal in one respect, for example wealth, consider themselves to be unequal in all; and any who are equal in one respect, for example freedom, consider themselves to be equal in all. But they leave out the capital point. For if men met and associated out of regard to wealth only, their share in the state would be proportioned to their property, and the oligarchical doctrine would then seem to carry the day. It would not be just that he who paid one mina should have the same share of a hundred minae, [b]whether of the principal or of the profits[b], as he who paid the remaining ninety-nine. But a state exists for the sake of a good life, and not for the sake of life only: if life only were the object, slaves and brute animals might form a state, but they cannot, for they have no share in happiness or in a life of free choice. Nor does a state exist for the sake of alliance and security from injustice[c], nor yet for the sake of exchange and mutual intercourse; for then the Tyrrhenians and the Carthaginians, and all who have commercial treaties with one another, would be the citizens of one state. True, they have agreements about

inequality to unequals, but people in general leave out of sight the persons, and put relative in the place of absolute justice.

The state exists not for the sake of wealth or security or society, but for the sake of a good life.

[a] Nicom. Ethics, v. 3. § 4.

[b] Or, with Bernays, 'either in the case of the original contributors or their successors.'

[c] Cp. c. 1. § 4.

imports, and engagements that they will do no wrong to one another, and written articles of alliance. But
1280b. there are no magistracies common to the contracting parties who will enforce their engagements; different states have each their own magistracies. Nor does one state take care that the citizens of the other are such as they ought to be, nor see that those who come under the terms of the treaty do no wrong or wickedness at all, but only that they do no injustice to one another.

8 Whereas, those who care for good government take into consideration [the larger question of] virtue and vice in states. Whence it may be further inferred that [a]virtue must be the serious care of a state which truly deserves the name[a]: for [without this ethical end] the community becomes a mere alliance which differs only in place from alliances of which the members live apart; and law is only a convention, 'a surety to one another of justice,' as the sophist Lycophron says, and has no real power to make the citizens good and just.

It is more than a mere alliance designed for the protection of life and property.

9 This is obvious; for suppose distinct places, such as Corinth and Megara, to be united by a wall, still they
10 would not be one city, not even if the citizens had the right to intermarry, which is one of the rights peculiarly characteristic of states. Again, if men dwelt at a distance from one another, but not so far off as to have no intercourse, and there were laws among them that they should not wrong each other in their exchanges, neither would this be a state. Let us suppose that one man is a carpenter, another a husbandman, another a shoemaker, and so on, and that their number is ten thousand: nevertheless, if they have nothing in common but exchange, alliance, and the like, that would not
11 constitute a state. Why is this? Surely not because they are at a distance from one another: for even supposing that such a community were to meet in one place, and that each man had a house of his own, which was

It implies not only intermarriage, intercourse, exchange,

a common locality,

[a] Or, 'virtue must be the care of a state which is truly so called, and not merely in name.'

III. 9. in a manner his state, and that they made alliance with one another, but only against evil-doers; still an accurate thinker would not deem this to be a state, if their intercourse with one another was of the same character after as before their union. It is clear then that a state is not 12
a mere society, having a common place, established for the prevention of crime and for the sake of exchange. These are conditions without which a state cannot exist; but all of them together do not constitute a state, which is a community of well-being in families and aggregations of families, for the sake of a perfect and self-sufficing life. Such a community can only be established 13
among those who live in the same place and intermarry. Hence arise in cities family connexions, brotherhoods, common sacrifices, amusements which draw men together. They are created by friendship, for friendship is the motive of society. The end is the good life, and these are the means towards it. And the state is the union 14
of families and villages having for an end a perfect and 1281a.
self-sufficing life, by which we mean a happy and honourable life[a].

but much more than these, viz. a community of well-being.

Our conclusion, then, is that political society exists for the sake of noble actions, and not of mere companionship. And they who contribute most to such 15
a society have a greater share in it than those who have the same or a greater freedom or nobility of birth but are inferior to them in political virtue; or than those who exceed them in wealth but are surpassed by them in virtue.

Those who contribute most to such a society have the greatest claim to power.

From what has been said it will be clearly seen that all the partisans of different forms of government speak of a part of justice only.

10. There is also a doubt as to what is to be the supreme power in the state:—Is it the multitude? Or the wealthy? Or the good? Or the one best man? Or a tyrant? Any of these alternatives seems to involve disagreeable consequences. If the poor, for example,

Who are to have supreme power?

[a] Cp. i. 2. § 8; N. Eth. i. 7. § 6.

because they are more in number, divide among themselves the property of the rich,—is not this unjust? No, by heaven (will be the reply), for the lawful authority [i. e. the people] willed it. But if this is not injustice, pray what is? Again, when [in the first division] all has been taken, and the majority divide anew the property of the minority, is it not evident, if this goes on, that they will ruin the state? Yet surely, virtue is not the ruin of those who possess her, nor is justice destructive of a state[a]; and therefore this law of confiscation clearly cannot be just. If it were, all the acts of a tyrant must of necessity be just; for he only coerces other men by superior power, just as the multitude coerce the rich. But is it just then that the few and the wealthy should be the rulers? And what if they, in like manner, rob and plunder the people,—is this just? If so, the other case [i. e. the case of the majority plundering the minority] will likewise be just. But there can be no doubt that all these things are wrong and unjust. III. 10.

Difficulties: any class having the power may act unjustly; is its authority to be deemed just?

Then ought the good to rule and have supreme power? But in that case everybody else, being excluded from power, will be dishonoured. For the offices of a state are posts of honour; and if one set of men always hold them, the rest must be deprived of them. Then will it be well that the one best man should rule? Nay, that is still more oligarchical, for the number of those who are dishonoured is thereby increased. Some one may say that it is bad for a man, subject as he is to all the accidents of human passion, to have the supreme power, rather than the law. But what if the law itself be democratical or oligarchical, how will that help us out of our difficulties[b]? Not at all; the same consequences will follow.

The rule of the good men will exclude the other citizens.

Even the rule of the law may only represent a party.

Most of these questions may be reserved for another occasion. The principle that the multitude ought to be supreme rather than the few best is capable of a satis- 11.

[a] Cp. Plato Rep. i. 351, 352.

[b] Cp. c. 11. § 20.

III. 11. factory explanation, and, though not free from difficulty,
Why the many should have power. They are wiser than any one man,
yet seems to contain an element of truth. For the 2
many, of whom each individual is but an ordinary person, 1281 b.
when they meet together may very likely be better than
the few good, if regarded not individually but collectively, just as a feast to which many contribute is better
than a dinner provided out of a single purse. For
each individual among the many has a share of virtue
and prudence, and when they meet together they become in a manner one man, who has many feet, and
hands, and senses; that is a figure of their mind and
disposition. Hence the many are better judges than a 3
single man of music and poetry; for some understand
one part, and some another, and among them, they understand the whole. There is a similar combination of 4
qualities in good men, who differ from any individual of
the many, as the beautiful are said to differ from those
who are not beautiful, and works of art from realities,
because in them the scattered elements are combined,
although, if taken separately, the eye of one person or
some other feature in another person would be fairer
than in the picture. Whether this principle can apply to 5
every democracy, and to all bodies of men, is not clear.
Or rather, by heaven, in some cases it is impossible of
application; for the argument would equally hold about
brutes; and wherein, it will be asked, do some men differ
in many cases, though not always.
from brutes? But there may be bodies of men about
whom our statement is nevertheless true. And if so, the 6
difficulty which has been already raised, and also another
which is akin to it—viz. what power should be assigned
to the mass of freemen and citizens, who are not rich and
have no personal merit—are both solved. There is still 7
a danger in allowing them to share the great offices
of state, for their folly will lead them into error, and
their dishonesty into crime. But there is a danger also
in not letting them share, for a state in which many poor
men are excluded from office will necessarily be full of
enemies. The only way of escape is to assign to them 8

some deliberative and judicial functions. For this reason Solon[a] and certain other legislators give them the power of electing to offices, and of calling the magistrates to account, but they do not allow them to hold office III. 11.
9 singly. When they meet together their perceptions are quite good enough, and combined with the better class they are useful to the state (just as impure food when mixed with what is pure sometimes makes the entire mass more wholesome than a small quantity of the pure would be), but each individual, left to himself,
10 forms an imperfect judgment. On the other hand, the popular form of government involves certain difficulties. In the first place, it might be objected that he who can judge of the healing of a sick man would be one who could himself heal his disease, and make him whole—
1282a. that is, in other words, the physician; and so in all professions and arts. As, then, the physician ought to be called to account by physicians, so ought men in general
11 to be called to account by their peers. But physicians are of three kinds:—there is the apothecary, and there is the physician of the higher class, and thirdly the intelligent man who has studied the art: in all arts there is such a class; and we attribute the power of judging to them
12 quite as much as to professors of the art. Now, does not the same principle apply to elections? For a right election can only be made by those who have knowledge; a geometrician, for example, will choose rightly in matters of geometry, or a pilot in matters of steering; and, even if there be some occupations and arts with which private persons are familiar, they certainly cannot judge
13 better than those who know. So that, according to this argument, neither the election of magistrates, nor the
14 calling of them to account, should be intrusted to the many. Yet possibly these objections are to a great extent met by our old answer, that if the people are not utterly degraded, although individually they may be worse

Their wisdom collective.

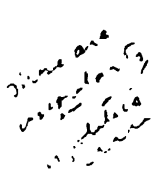
But should not the expert be chosen by the expert?

Answer: the people may be able to judge

[a] Cp. ii. 12. § 5.

III. 11. judges than those who have special knowledge—as a body they are as good or better. Moreover, there are some artists whose works are judged of solely, or in the best manner, not by themselves, but by those who do not possess the art; for example, the knowledge of the house is not limited to the builder only; the user, or, in other words, the master, of the house will even be a better judge than the builder, just as the pilot will judge better of a rudder than the carpenter, and the guest will judge better of a feast than the cook.

though they have no special knowledge.



This difficulty seems now to be sufficiently answered, 15 but there is another akin to it. That inferior persons should have authority in greater matters than the good would appear to be a strange thing, yet the election and calling to account of the magistrates is the greatest of all. And these, as I was saying, are functions which in some states are assigned to the people, for the assembly is supreme in all such matters. Yet persons of any age, 16 and having but a small property qualification, sit in the assembly and deliberate and judge, although for the great officers of state, such as controllers and generals, a high qualification is required. This difficulty may be solved in the same manner as the preceding, and the present practice of democracies may be really defensible. 17 For the power does not reside in the dicast, or senator, or ecclesiast, but in the court and the senate, and the assembly, of which individual senators, or ecclesiasts, or dicasts, are only parts or members. And for this 18 reason the many may claim to have a higher authority than the few; for the people, and the senate, and the courts consist of many persons, and their property collectively is greater than the property of one or of a few individuals holding great offices. But enough of this.

Sovereignty of the people means not *volonté de tous* but *volonté générale.*

The discussion of the first question[a] shows nothing so 19 1282b. clearly as that laws, when good, should be supreme; and that the magistrate or magistrates should regulate those matters only on which the laws are unable to speak with

The laws when good supreme. But what are good laws?

[a] Cp. c. 10. § 1.

precision owing to the difficulty of any general principle III. 11.
20 embracing all particulars[a]. But what are good laws has not yet been clearly explained; the old difficulty remains[b]. The goodness or badness, justice or injustice, of laws is of necessity relative to the constitutions of states.
21 But if so, true forms of government will of necessity have just laws, and perverted forms of government will have unjust laws.

In all sciences and arts the end is a good, and especially and above all in the highest of all[c]—this is the political science of which the good is justice, in other words, the common interest. All men think justice to be a sort of equality; and to a certain extent[d] they agree in the philosophical distinctions which have been laid down by us about Ethics[e]. For they admit that justice is a thing having relation to persons, and that equals ought to
2 have equality. But there still remains a question; equality or inequality of what? here is a difficulty which the political philosopher has to resolve. For very likely some persons will say that offices of state ought to be unequally distributed according to superior excellence, in whatever respect, of the citizen, although there is no other difference between him and the rest of the community; for that those who differ in any one
3 respect have different rights and claims. But, surely, if this is true, the complexion or height of a man, or any other advantage, will be a reason for his obtaining a
4 greater share of political rights. The error here lies upon the surface, and may be illustrated from the other arts and sciences. When a number of flute-players are equal in their art, there is no reason why those of them who are better born should have better flutes given to them; for they will not play any better on the flute, and the superior instrument should be reserved for him who is the superior artist. If what I am saying is still obscure,
5 it will be made clearer as we proceed. For if there were

12.

Justice is equality.

But equality in what?

Not in anything and everything.

[a] Cp. N. Eth. v. 10. § 4. [b] Cp. c. 10. § 5.
[c] Cp. i. 1. § 1; N. Eth. i. 1. § 1. [d] Cp. c. 9. § 1. [e] Cp. N. Eth. v. 3.

III. 12. a superior flute-player who was far inferior in birth and beauty, although either of these may be a greater good than the art of flute-playing, and persons gifted with these qualities may excel the flute-player in a greater ratio than he excels them in his art, still he ought to have the best flutes given to him, unless the advantages of wealth 1283a.
and birth contribute to excellence in flute-playing, which
Differences of quality have no common measure.
they do not. Moreover upon this principle any good 6
may be compared with any other. For if a given height, then height in general may be measured either against height or against freedom. Thus if A excels in height more than B in virtue, and height in general is more excellent than virtue, all things will be commensurable [which is absurd]; for if a certain magnitude is greater than some other, it is clear that some other will be equal.

What kinds of superiority give a claim to political power?
But since no such comparison can be made, it is evident 7
that there is good reason why in politics men do not ground their claim to office on every sort of inequality any more than in the arts. For if some be slow, and others swift, that is no reason why the one should have little and the others much; it is in gymnastic contests that such excellence is rewarded. Whereas the rival 8
claims of candidates for office can only be based on the possession of elements which enter into the composition of a state, [such as wealth, virtue, etc.] And therefore the noble, or free-born, or rich, may with good reason claim office; for holders of offices must be freemen and tax-payers: a state can be no more composed entirely of poor men than entirely of slaves. But if wealth and 9
freedom are necessary elements, justice and valour are equally so[a]; for without the former a state cannot exist at all, without the latter not well.

13. If the existence of the state is alone to be considered, then it would seem that all, or some at least, of these claims are just; but, if we take into account a good life, as I have already said[b], education and virtue have

[a] Cp. iv. 4. §§ 12–16. [b] Cp. c. 9. §§ 14, 15.

superior claims. As, however, those who are equal in one thing ought not to be equal in all, nor those who are unequal in one thing to be unequal in all, it is certain that all forms of government which rest on either
2 of these principles are perversions. All men have a claim in a certain sense, as I have already admitted, but they have not an absolute claim. The rich claim because they have a greater share in the land, and land is the common element of the state; also they are generally more trustworthy in contracts. The free claim under the same title as the noble; for they are nearly akin. And the noble are citizens in a truer sense than the ignoble, since good birth is always valued in a man's own home
3 and country[a]. Another reason is, that those who are sprung from better ancestors are likely to be better men, for nobility is excellence of race. Virtue, too, may be truly said to have a claim, for justice has been acknowledged by us to be a social[b] virtue, and it implies
4 all others[c]. Again, the many may urge their claim against the few; for, when taken collectively, and compared with the few, they are stronger and richer and
1283 b. better. But, what if the good, the rich, the noble, and the other classes who make up a state, are all living together in the same city, will there, or will there
5 not, be any doubt who shall rule?—No doubt at all in determining who ought to rule in each of the above-mentioned forms of government. For states are characterized by differences in their governing bodies—one of them has a government of the rich, another of the virtuous, and so on. But a difficulty arises when all these
6 elements coexist. How are we to decide? Suppose the virtuous to be very few in number: may we consider their numbers in relation to their duties, and ask whether they are enough to administer the state, or must they be so many as will make up a state? Objections may be
7 urged against all the aspirants to political power. For those who found their claims on wealth or family have

III. 13.

The claims of wealth,

of birth,

of virtue,

of numbers.

Concurrent claims.

[a] Cp. i. 6. § 7. [b] Cp. i. 2. § 16. [c] Cp. N. Eth. v. 1. § 15.

III. 13. no basis of justice; on this principle, if any one person were richer than all the rest, it is clear that he ought to be the ruler of them. In like manner he who is very distinguished by his birth ought to have the superiority over all those who claim on the ground that they are freeborn. In an aristocracy, or government of the best, a 8
like difficulty occurs about virtue; for if one citizen be better than the other members of the government, however good they may be, he too, upon the same principle of justice, should rule over them. And if the people are to be supreme because they are stronger than the few, then if one man, or more than one, but not a majority, is stronger than the many, they ought to rule, and not the many.

None of these claims to power strictly just.

All these considerations appear to show that none of 9
the principles on which men claim to rule, and hold all other men in subjection to them, are strictly right. To 10
those who claim to be masters of the state on the ground of their virtue or their wealth, the many might fairly answer that they themselves are often better and richer than the few—I do not say individually, but collectively. And another ingenious objection which is sometimes put 11
forward may be met in a similar manner. Some persons doubt whether the legislator who desires to make the justest laws ought to legislate with a view to the good of the higher classes or of the many, when the case which we have mentioned occurs [i. e. when all the elements coexist[a]]. Now what is just or right is to be inter- 12
preted in the sense of 'what is equal;' and that which is right in the sense of being equal is to be considered with reference to the advantage of the state, and the common good of the citizens. And a citizen is one who shares in governing and being governed. He differs under different 1284a
forms of government, but in the best state he is one who is able and willing to be governed and to govern with a view to the life of virtue.

The many may be better or richer than the few.

The equal is limited by the common good.

[a] Cp. § 4.

III. 13.

13 If, however, there be some one person, or more than one, although not enough to make up the full complement of a state, whose virtue is so preeminent that the virtues or the political power of all the rest admit of no comparison with his or theirs, he or they can be no longer regarded as part of a state; for justice will not be done to the superior, if he is reckoned only as the equal of those who are so far inferior to him in virtue and in political power. Such an one may truly 14 be deemed a God among men. Hence we see that legislation is necessarily concerned only with those who are equal in birth and in power; and that for men of preeminent virtue there is no law—they are themselves a law. Any one would be ridiculous who attempted to make laws for them: they would probably retort what, in the fable of Antisthenes, the lions said to the hares ['where are your claws?'], when in the council of the beasts the latter began haranguing and 15 claiming equality for all. And for this reason democratic states have instituted ostracism; equality is above all things their aim, and therefore they ostracise and banish from the city for a time those who seem to predominate too much through their wealth, or the number of their friends, 16 or through any other political influence. Mythology tells us that the Argonauts left Heracles behind for a similar reason; the ship Argo would not take him because she feared that he would have been too much for the rest of the crew. Wherefore those who denounce tyranny and blame the counsel which Periander gave to Thrasybulus 17 cannot be held altogether just in their censure. The story is that Periander, when the herald was sent to ask counsel of him, said nothing, but only cut off the tallest ears of corn till he had brought the field to a level. The herald did not know the meaning of the action, but came and reported what he had seen to Thrasybulus, who understood that he was to cut off the principal men in 18 the state[a]; and this is a policy not only expedient for

The true king or hero an anomalous person who is not part of a state:

such persons are ostracised in democracies which, like tyrannies, act on the advice of Periander to Thrasybulus.

[a] Cp. v. 10. § 13.

III. 13. tyrants or in practice confined to them, but equally necessary in oligarchies and democracies. Ostracism[a] is a measure of the same kind, which acts by disabling and banishing the most prominent citizens. Great powers 19
Imperial states ostracise dependent states.
do the same to whole cities and nations, as the Athenians did to the Samians, Chians, and Lesbians; no sooner had they obtained a firm grasp of the empire, than they humbled their allies contrary to treaty; and the Persian 1284b
king has repeatedly crushed the Medes, Babylonians, and other nations, when their spirit has been stirred by the recollection of their former greatness.

The problem is a universal one, and equally concerns 20
all forms of government, true as well as false; for, although perverted forms with a view to their own interests may adopt this policy, those which seek the
Illustration taken from the arts.
common interest do so likewise. The same thing may 21
be observed in the arts and sciences[b]; for the painter will not allow the figure to have a foot which, however beautiful, is not in proportion, nor will the ship-builder allow the stern or any other part of the vessel to be unduly large, any more than the chorus-master will allow any one who sings louder or better than all the rest to sing in the choir. [c]Monarchs, too, may practise compulsion 22
and still live in harmony with their cities, if their government is for the interest of the state[c]. Hence where there is an acknowledged superiority the argument in favour of ostracism is based upon a kind of political justice. It would certainly be better that the legislator should 23
from the first so order his state as to have no need of such a remedy. But if the need arises, the next best thing is that he should endeavour to correct the evil by this or some similar measure. The principle, however, has not been fairly applied in states; for, instead of looking to the public good, they have used ostracism for

Ostracism when applied a sad necessity, but it should not be necessary.

[a] Cp. v. 3. § 3.

[b] Cp. v. 3. § 6; 9. § 7; vii. 4. 10; Rep. iv. 420.

[c] Or, 'Monarchies do not differ in this respect (i.e. the employment of compulsion) from free states, but their government must be,' etc.

factious purposes. It is true that under perverted forms of government, and from their special point of view, such a measure is just and expedient, but it is also clear that it is not absolutely just. In the perfect state there would be great doubts about the use of it, not when applied to excess in strength, wealth, popularity, or the like, but when used against some one who is preeminent in virtue,—what is to be done with him? Mankind will not say that such an one is to be expelled and exiled; on the other hand, he ought not to be a subject—that would be [a]as if in the division of the empire of the Gods the other Gods[a] should claim to rule over Zeus. The only alternative is that all should joyfully obey such a ruler, according to what seems to be the order of nature, and that men like him should be kings in their state for life.

III 13. Can we ostracise the one best man? No: Then he must be king.

The preceding discussion, by a natural transition, leads to the consideration of royalty, which we admit to be one of the true forms of government[b]. Let us see whether in order to be well governed a state or country should be under the rule of a king or under some other form of government; and whether monarchy, although good for some, may not be bad for others. But first we must determine whether there is one species of royalty or many. It is easy to see that there are many, and that the manner of government is not the same in all of them.

14. Royalty, kinds of.

Of royalties according to law, the Lacedaemonian is thought to answer best to the true pattern; but there the royal power is not absolute, except when the kings go on an expedition, and then they take the command. Matters of religion are likewise committed to them.

(1) The Lacedaemonian kings not sovereigns, but generals for life.

The kingly office is in truth a kind of generalship, irresponsible and perpetual. The king has not the power of life and death, except[c] when upon a campaign and in

[a] Or, 'as if in the division of offices among the citizens, mankind,' etc. Or, with Bernays, 'as if in accordance with the principle of rotation in succession to offices, mankind,' etc. [b] ii. 9. § 29.

[c] Omitting *ἔν τινι βασιλείᾳ*, which is bracketted by Bekker in his 2nd edit.

III. 14. the field; after the manner of the ancients which is described in Homer. For Agamemnon is patient when he is attacked in the assembly, but when the army goes out to battle he has the power even of life and death. Does he not say?— 5

'When I find a man skulking apart from the battle, nothing shall save him from the dogs and vultures, for in my hands is death [a].'

This, then, is one form of royalty—a generalship for life; and of such royalties some are hereditary and others elective.

(2) Barbarian kings have despotic power, but are legal and hereditary.

(2) There is another sort of monarchy not uncommon 6 among the barbarians, which nearly resembles tyranny. But even this is legal and hereditary. For barbarians, being more servile in character than Hellenes, and Asiatics than Europeans, do not rebel against a despotic government. Such royalties have the nature of tyran- 7 nies because the people are by nature slaves [b]; but there is no danger of their being overthrown, for they are hereditary and legal. Wherefore also their guards are such as a king and not such as a tyrant would employ, that is to say, they are composed of citizens, whereas the guards of tyrants are mercenaries [c]. For kings rule according to law over voluntary subjects, but tyrants over involuntary; and the one are guarded by their fellow-citizens, the others are guarded against them.

(3) Aesymnetes or dictators.

These are two forms of monarchy, and there was a 8 third (3) which existed in ancient Hellas, called an Aesymnetia or dictatorship. This may be defined generally as an elective tyranny, which, like the barbarian monarchy, is legal, but differs from it in not being hereditary. Sometimes the office is held for life, sometimes 9 for a term of years, or until certain duties have been performed. For example, the Mitylenaeans elected Pittacus leader against the exiles, who were headed by Antimenides and Alcaeus the poet. And Alcaeus himself says 10

[a] Il. ii. 391–393. The last clause is not found in our Homer.
[b] Cp. i. 2. § 4. [c] Cp. v. 10. § 10.

in one of his [a]irregular songs[a], 'They chose Pittacus tyrant,' and he reproaches his fellow-citizens for III. 14.

'having made the low-born Pittacus tyrant of the spiritless and
1285 b. ill-fated city, with one voice shouting his praises.'

11 These forms of government have always had the character of despotism, because they possess tyrannical power; but inasmuch as they are elective and acquiesced in by their subjects, they are kingly.

(4) There is a fourth species of kingly rule—that of the heroic times—which was hereditary and legal, and
12 was exercised over willing subjects. For the first chiefs were benefactors of the people[b] in arts or arms; they either gathered them into a community, or procured land for them; and thus they became kings of voluntary subjects, and their power was inherited by their descendants. They took the command in war and presided over the sacrifices, except those which required a priest. They also decided causes either with or without an oath; and when they swore, the form of the oath was
13 the stretching out of their sceptre. In ancient times their power extended to all things whatsoever, in city and country, as well as in foreign parts; but at a later date they relinquished several of these privileges, and others the people took from them, until in some states nothing was left to them but the sacrifices; and where they retained more of the reality they had only the right of leadership in war beyond the border.

14 These, then, are the four kinds of royalty. First the monarchy of the heroic ages; this was exercised over voluntary subjects, but limited to certain functions; the king was a general and a judge, and had the control of religion. The second is that of the barbarians, which is an hereditary despotic government in accordance with law. A third is the power of the so-called Aesymnete or Dictator; this is an elective tyranny. The fourth is the Lacedaemonian, which is in fact a generalship,

(4) The hereditary ruler over willing subjects.

The king's power gradually declined, the office of priest or general alone remaining to him.

Re-enumeration of the kinds of royalty. To the four above-mentioned

[a] Or, 'banquet-odes,' *σκόλια*.

[b] Cp. v. c. 10. § 3.

III. 14. hereditary and perpetual. These four forms differ from one another in the manner which I have described. 15

is added (5) absolute royalty.

There is a fifth form of kingly rule in which one has the disposal of all, just as each tribe or each state has the disposal of the public property; this form corresponds to the control of a household. For as household management is the kingly rule of a house, so kingly rule is the household management of a city, or of a nation, or of many nations.

15. Only the two extreme forms need be considered.

Of these forms we need only consider two, the Lacedaemonian and the absolute royalty; for most of the others lie in a region between them, having less power than the last, and more than the first. Thus the enquiry is reduced to two points: first, is it advantageous to the state that there should be a perpetual general, and if so, should the office be confined to one family, or open to the citizens in turn? Secondly, is it well that a 1286a single man should have the supreme power in all things? 2

The Lacedaemonian royalty is an office, not a constitution; the absolute royalty raises many questions.

The first question falls under the head of laws rather than of constitutions; for perpetual generalship might equally exist under any form of government, so that this matter may be dismissed for the present. The other kind of royalty is a sort of constitution; this we have now to consider, and briefly to run over the difficulties involved in it. We will begin by enquiring whether it is more advantageous to be ruled by the best man or by the best laws.[a] 3

Should the best laws or the best man rule?

Laws are general,

The advocates of royalty maintain that the laws speak only in general terms, and cannot provide for circumstances; and that for any science to abide by written rules is absurd. Even in Egypt the physician is allowed to alter his treatment after the fourth day, but if sooner, he takes the risk. Hence it is argued that a government acting according to written laws is plainly not the best. Yet surely the ruler cannot dispense with the general principle which exists in law; and he is a better 4 5

but they are passionless, and the rules too must have general principles.

[a] Cp. Plato Polit. pp. 293–295.

ruler who is free from passion than he who is passionate. III. 15.
Whereas the law is passionless, passion must ever sway
the heart of man.

6 Yes, some one will answer, but then on the other hand an individual will be better able to advise in particular cases. [To whom we in turn make reply:] A king must legislate, and laws must be passed, but these laws will have no authority when they miss the mark, though in all other cases retaining their authority. [Yet a further question remains behind:] When the law cannot determine a point at all, or not well, should the one 7 best man or should all decide? According to our present practice assemblies meet, sit in judgment, deliberate and decide, and their judgments all relate to individual cases. Now any member of the assembly, taken separately, is certainly inferior to the wise man. But the state is made up of many individuals. And as a feast to which all the guests contribute is better than a banquet furnished by a single man[a], so a multitude is a better judge of many things than any individual.

But how about particular cases which cannot be determined by law?

Should the one best man or the many decide them?

The many are collectively wiser,

8 Again, the many are more incorruptible than the few; they are like the greater quantity of water which is less easily corrupted than a little. The individual is liable to be overcome by anger or by some other passion, and then his judgment is necessarily perverted; but it is hardly to be supposed that a great number of persons would all get into a passion and go wrong at the same moment.

less corruptible,

freer from passion,

9 Let us assume that they are freemen, never acting in violation of the law, but filling up the gaps which the law is obliged to leave. Or, if such virtue is scarcely attainable by the multitude, we need only suppose that the majority are good men and good citizens, and ask which will be the more incorruptible, the one good ruler, 1286b. or the many who are all good? Will not the many? But, you will say, there may be parties among them, 10 whereas the one man is not divided against himself. To

and not more subject to faction.

[a] Cp. supra, c. 11. § 2.

III. 15. which we may answer that their character is as good as his. If we call the rule of many men, who are all of them good, aristocracy, and the rule of one man royalty, then aristocracy will be better for states than royalty, whether the government is supported by force or not[a], provided only that a number of men equal in virtue can be found.

Ancient monarchies

The first governments were kingships, probably for 11
this reason, because of old, when cities were small, men of eminent virtue were few. They were made kings because they were benefactors[b], and benefits can only be bestowed by good men. But when many persons equal in merit arose, no longer enduring the pre-eminence of one, they desired to have a commonwealth, and 12
set up a constitution. The ruling class soon deteriorated and enriched themselves out of the public treasury; riches became the path to honour, and so oligarchies naturally grew up. These passed into tyrannies and tyrannies into democracies; for love of gain in the ruling classes was always tending to diminish their number, and so to strengthen the masses, who in the end set upon their masters and established democracies. Since cities have increased in size, no other form of govern- 13
ment appears to be any longer possible[c].

passed into aristocracies, these into oligarchies;

then came tyrannies,

lastly, democracies.

Should monarchy be hereditary?

Even supposing the principle to be maintained that kingly power is the best thing for states, how about the family of the king? Are his children to succeed him? If they are no better than anybody else, that will be mischievous. But [says the lover of royalty] the king, 14
though he might, will not hand on his power to his children. That, however, is hardly to be expected, and is too much to ask of human nature. There is also a difficulty about the force which he is to employ; should a king have guards about him by whose aid he may be able to coerce the refractory? but if not, how will he 15
administer his kingdom? Even if he be the lawful

Should the monarch have a military force?

[a] Cp. infra, § 15. [b] Cp. c. 14. § 12.
[c] Cp. iv. 6. § 5; 13. § 10.

UNIV. OF CALIF.

sovereign who does nothing arbitrarily or contrary to law, still he must have some force wherewith to main- III. 15.

16 tain the law. In the case of a limited monarchy there is not much difficulty in answering this question; the king must have such force as will be more than a match for one or more individuals, but not so great as that of the people. The ancients observed this principle when they gave the guards to any one whom they appointed dictator or tyrant. Thus, when Dionysius asked the Syracusans to allow him guards, somebody advised that they should give him only a certain number.

Yes; but he must not be too powerful.

1287a. At this place in the discussion naturally follows the enquiry respecting the king who acts solely according to his own will; he has now to be considered. The so-called limited monarchy, or kingship according to law, as I have already remarked [a], is not a distinct form of government, for under all governments, as, for example, in a democracy or aristocracy, there may be a general holding office for life, and one person is often made supreme over the administration of a state. A magistracy of this kind exists at Epidamnus [b], and also at Opus, but in the

2 latter city has a more limited power. Now, absolute monarchy, or the arbitrary rule of a sovereign over all the citizens, in a city which consists of equals, is thought by some to be quite contrary to nature; it is argued that those who are by nature equals must have the same natural right and worth, and that for unequals to have an equal share, or for equals to have an unequal share, in the offices of state, is as bad as for different bodily constitutions to have the same food and clothing or the

3 same different. Wherefore it is thought to be just that among equals every one be ruled as well as rule, and that all should have their turn. We thus arrive at law; for an order of succession implies law. And the rule of the

4 law is preferable to that of any individual. On the same principle, even if it be better for certain individuals to govern, they should be made only guardians and ministers

16.

The royalty of Sparta is only a life generalship, which may be found in any kind of state.

But absolute monarchy is often thought to be contrary to nature.

Equals should be under the impersonal rule of law.

[a] Cp. c. 15. § 2.

[b] Cp. v. 1. §§ 10, 11; 4. § 7.

III. 16. of the law. For magistrates there must be, — this is admitted; but then men say that to give authority to any one man when all are equal is unjust. There may indeed be cases which the law seems unable to determine, but in such cases can a man? Nay, it will be replied, 5 the law trains officers for this express purpose, and appoints them to determine matters which are left undecided by it to the best of their judgment. Further it permits them to make any amendment of the existing laws which experience suggests. [But still they are only the ministers of the law.] He who bids the law rule, may be deemed to bid God and Reason alone rule, but he who bids man rule adds an element of the beast; for desire is a wild beast, and passion perverts the minds of rulers, even when they are the best of men. The law is reason unaffected by desire. We are 6 told that a patient should call in a physician; he will not get better if he is doctored out of a book. But the 7 parallel of the arts is clearly not in point; for the physician does nothing contrary to reason from motives of friendship; he only cures a patient and takes a fee; whereas magistrates do many things from spite and partiality. And, indeed, if a man suspected the physician of being in league with his enemies to destroy him for a bribe, he would rather have recourse to the book. Even phy- 8 sicians when they are sick, call in other physicians, and 1287 b. training-masters when they are in training, other training-masters, as if they could not judge truly about their own case and might be influenced by their feelings. Hence it is evident that in seeking for justice men seek for the mean or neutral*, and the law is the mean. Again, cus- 9 tomary laws have more weight, and relate to more important matters, than written laws, and a man may be a safer ruler than the written law, but not safer than the customary law.

Law is passionless Reason.

The analogy of medicine is adduced in support of personal government, but the cases are not parallel.

Again, it is by no means easy for one man to super-

* Cp. N. Eth. v. 4. § 7.

intend many things; he will have to appoint a number of subordinates, and what difference does it make whether these subordinates always existed or were appointed by him because he needed them? If, as I said before[a], the good man has a right to rule because he is better, then two good men are better than one: this is the old saying,— III. 16.

The one must always have the assistance of many: then is it not better that the many should rule from the first?

'two going together[b];'

and the prayer of Agamemnon,—

'would that I had ten such counsellors[c]!'

And at this day there are some magistrates, for example judges[d], who have authority to decide matters which the law is unable to determine, since no one doubts that the law would command and decide in the best manner whatever it could. But some things can, and other things cannot, be comprehended under the law, and this is the origin of the vexed question whether the best law or the best man should rule. For matters of detail about which men deliberate cannot be included in legislation. Nor does any one deny that the decision of such matters must be left to man, but it is argued that there should be many judges, and not one only. For every ruler[e] who has been trained by the law judges well; and it would surely seem strange that a person should see better with two eyes, or hear better with two ears, or act better with two hands or feet, than many with many; indeed, it is already the practice of kings to make to themselves many eyes and ears and hands and feet. For they make colleagues of those who are the friends of themselves and their governments. They must be friends of the monarch and of his government; if not his friends, they will not do what he wants; but friendship implies likeness and equality; and, therefore, if he thinks that friends ought to rule, he must think that those who are equal to himself and

[a] Cp. c. 13. § 25. [b] Il. x. 224. [c] Il. ii. 372. [d] ὁ δικαστής.
[e] Cp. for similar arguments c. 15. § 9.

III. 16. like himself ought to rule. These are the principal controversies relating to monarchy.

17. But may not all this be true in some cases and not in others? [a]for there is a natural justice and expediency in the relation of a master to his servants, or, again, of a king to his subjects, as also in the relation of free citizens to one another; whereas there is no such justice or expediency in a tyranny[a], or in any other perverted form of government, which comes into being contrary to nature. Now, from what has been said, it is manifest that, where 1288a men are alike and equal, it is neither expedient nor just 2 that one man should be lord of all, whether there are laws, or whether there are no laws, but he himself is in the place of law. Neither should a good man be lord over good men, or a bad man over bad; nor, even if he excels in virtue, should he have a right to rule, unless in a particular case, which I have already mentioned, and to which I will once more recur[b]. But first of all, I 3 must determine what natures are suited for royalties, and what for an aristocracy, and what for a constitutional government.

But monarchy may be preferable, when in accordance with the character of a people.

Natural fitness of constitutions.

A people who are by nature capable of producing a 4 race superior in virtue and political talent are fitted for kingly government; and a people[c] submitting to be ruled as freemen by men whose virtue renders them capable of political command are adapted for an aristocracy: while the people who are suited for constitutional freedom, are those among whom there naturally exists[d] a warlike multitude[e] able to rule and to obey in turn by a law which gives office to the well-to-do according to their

[a] Or: 'for there are men who are by nature fitted to be ruled by a master, others to be ruled by a king, others to live under a constitutional government, and for whom these several relations are just and expedient; but there are no men naturally fitted to be ruled by a tyrant,' etc.

[b] C. 13. § 25, and § 5, infra.

[c] Omitting the words *πλῆθος ὃ πέφυκε φέρειν*, which appear to be a repetition from the previous clause.

[d] Omitting *καὶ ἓν*.

[e] Cp. c. 7. § 4.

5 desert. But when a whole family, or some individual, happens to be so pre-eminent in virtue as to surpass all others, then it is just that they should be the royal family and supreme over all, or that this one citizen should be 6 king of the whole nation. For, as I said before[a], to give them authority is not only agreeable to that ground of right which the founders of all states, whether aristocratical, or oligarchical, or again democratical, are accustomed to put forward; (for these all recognize the claim of excellence, although not the same excellence), 7 [b]but accords with the principle already laid down[b]. For it would not be right to kill, or ostracise, or exile such a person, or require that he should take his turn in being governed. The whole is naturally superior to the part, and he who has this pre-eminence is in the relation of a 8 whole to a part. But if so, the only alternative is that he should have the supreme power, and that mankind should obey him, not in turn, but always. These are the conclusions at which we arrive respecting royalty and its various forms, and this is the answer to the question, whether it is or is not advantageous to states, and to whom, and how.

III. 17. When one man is pre-eminent in virtue he ought to rule.

We maintain that the true forms of government are three, and that the best must be that which is administered by the best, and in which there is one man, or a whole family, or many persons, excelling in virtue, and both rulers and subjects are fitted, the one to rule, the others to be ruled[c], in such a manner as to attain the most eligible life. We showed at the commencement of our enquiry[d] that the virtue of the good man is necessarily the same as the virtue of the citizen of the perfect state. Clearly then in the same manner, and by the same means through which a man becomes truly good, he will frame a state [which will be truly good] whether aristocratical,

18. The best government may be either the rule of the one, or of the many virtuous.

State and individual both become virtuous in the same manner.

[a] Cp. c. 9. § 15.

[b] Or: 'but differing in the manner already laid down.'

[c] Omitting καὶ ἄρχειν, which is inserted, without MS. authority, in Bekker's 2nd edit.

[d] Cp. c. 4.

III. 18. or under kingly rule, and the same education and the 1288 b
same habits will be found to make a good man and a
good statesman and king.

Having arrived at these conclusions, we must proceed a
to speak of the perfect state, and describe how it comes
into being and is established. He who would proceed
with the enquiry in due manner. . . . .[a]

[a] Retaining the words of the MSS, Ἀνάγκη δὴ τὸν μέλλοντα περὶ αὐτῆς ποιήσασθαι τὴν προσήκουσαν σκέψιν, which are omitted by Bekker in his 2nd edit.

BOOK IV.

IV. 1. The problems of the gymnastic art

In all arts and sciences which embrace the whole of any subject, and are not restricted to a part only, it is the province of a single art or science to consider all that appertains to a single subject. For example, the art of gymnastic considers not only the suitableness of different modes of training to different bodies (2), but what sort is absolutely the best (1); (for the absolutely best must suit that which is by nature best and best furnished with the means of life), and also what common form of training is
2 adapted to the great majority of men (4). And if a man does not desire the best habit of body or the greatest skill in gymnastics, which might be attained by him, still the trainer or the teacher of gymnastic should be able to impart any lower degree of either (3). The same principle equally holds in medicine and ship-building, and the making of clothes, and in the arts generally[a].

illustrate the problems of politics for the statesman.

3 Hence it is obvious that government too is the subject of a single science, which has to consider what kind of government would be best and most in accordance with our aspirations, if there were no external impediment, and also what kind of government is adapted to particular states. For the best is often unattainable, and therefore the true legislator and statesman ought to be acquainted, not only with (1) that which is best in the abstract, but also with (2) that which is best relatively to
4 circumstances. We should be able further to say how a state may be constituted under any given conditions (3); both how it is originally formed and, when formed, how it may be longest preserved; the supposed state being so far from the very best that it is unprovided even with the conditions necessary for the very best; neither is it the best under the circumstances, but of an inferior type.

[a] The numbers in this paragraph are made to correspond with the numbers in the next.

IV. 1. He ought, moreover, to know (4) the form of government which is best suited to states in general; for political writers, although they have excellent ideas, are often unpractical. We should consider, not only what form of government is best, but also what is possible and what is easily attainable by all. There are some who would have none but the most perfect; for this many natural advantages are required. Others, again, speak of a more attainable form, and, although they reject the constitution under which they are living, they extol some one in particular, for example the Lacedaemonian[a]. 5 6 1289a.

The best state for the majority.

The reformation of the old as hard as the creation of the new.

Any change of government which has to be introduced should be one which men will be both willing and able to adopt, since there is quite as much trouble in the reformation of an old constitution as in the establishment of a new one, just as to unlearn is as hard as to learn. And therefore, in addition to the qualifications of the statesman already mentioned, he should be able to find remedies for the defects of existing constitutions[b]. 7

The 'pathology' of states.

This he cannot do unless he knows how many forms of a government there are. It is often supposed that there is only one kind of democracy and one of oligarchy. But this is a mistake; and, in order to avoid such mistakes, we must ascertain what differences there are in the constitutions of states, and in how many ways they are combined. The same political insight will enable a man to know which laws are the best, and which are suited to different constitutions; for the laws are, and ought to be, relative to the constitution, and not the constitution to the laws. A constitution is the organization of offices in a state, and determines what is to be the governing body, and what is the end of each community. But [c]laws are not to be confounded with the principles of the constitution[c]: they are the rules according to which the magistrates should administer the state, and proceed 8 9 10

[a] Cp. ii. 6. § 16. [b] Cp. § 4.

[c] Or: 'laws, though in themselves distinct, show the character of the constitution.'

11 against offenders. So that we must know the number and varieties of the several forms of government, if only with a view to making laws. For the same laws cannot be equally suited to all oligarchies and to all democracies, and there is certainly more than one form both of democracy and of oligarchy. IV. 1.

2. Royalty and aristocracy have been already discussed. Polity, democracy, oligarchy, tyranny, remain.

In our original discussion[a] about governments we divided them into three true forms: kingly rule, aristocracy, and constitutional government, and three corresponding perversions—tyranny, oligarchy, and democracy. Of kingly rule and of aristocracy we have already spoken, for the enquiry into the perfect state is the same thing with the discussion of the two forms thus named, since both imply a principle of virtue provided with external means. We have already determined in what aristocracy and kingly rule differ from one another, and when the latter should be established[b]. In what follows we have to describe the so-called constitutional government, which bears the common name of all constitutions, and the other forms, tyranny, oligarchy, and democracy.

2 'Corruptio optimi pessima.'

It is obvious which of the three perversions is the worst, and which is the next in badness. That which is the perversion of the first and most divine is necessarily
1289 b. the worst. And just as a royal rule, if not a mere name, must exist by virtue of some great personal superiority in the king, so tyranny, which is the worst of governments, is necessarily the farthest removed from a well-constituted form; oligarchy is a little better, but a long way from aristocracy, and democracy is the most tolerable of the three.

3 A criticism on Plato.

A writer[c] who preceded me has already made these distinctions, but his point of view is not the same as mine. For he lays down the principle that of all good constitutions (under which he would include a virtuous oligarchy and the like) democracy is the worst, but the best of bad ones. Whereas we maintain that they are

[a] Book iii. 7.; N. Eth. viii. 10. [b] Cp. iii. 17. § 8.
[c] Plato Polit. 303 A.

IV. 2. all defective, and that one oligarchy is not to be accounted better than another, but only less bad.

A new beginning: Questions to be discussed.

Not to pursue this question further at present, let us 4
begin by determining (1)[a] how many varieties of states there are (since of democracy and oligarchy there are several); (2)[b] what constitution is the most generally acceptable, and what is eligible in the next degree [c]after the perfect or any other aristocratical and well-constituted form of government—if any other there be—which is at the same time adapted to states in general[c]; (3)[d] of the other forms of government to whom is each suited. For democracy may meet the needs of some better than 5
oligarchy, and conversely. In the next place (4)[e] we have to consider in what manner a man ought to proceed who desires to establish some one among these various forms, whether of democracy or of oligarchy; and lastly, 6
(5)[f] having briefly discussed these subjects to the best of our power, we will endeavour to ascertain whence arise the ruin and preservation of states, both generally and in individual cases, and to what causes they are to be attributed.

3. Forms of government differ because states are made up of various elements.

The reason why there are many forms of government is that every state contains many elements. In the first place we see that all states are made up of families, and in the multitude of citizens there must be some rich and some poor, and some in a middle condition; [g]the rich are heavy-armed, and the poor not[g]. Of the 2
common people, some are husbandmen, and some traders, and some artisans. There are also among the notables differences of wealth and property—for example, in the number of horses which they keep, for they cannot afford to keep them unless they are rich. And therefore 3
in old times the cities whose strength lay in their cavalry

There are differences of occupation, wealth,

[a] C. 4–6. [b] C. 7–9 and 11.

[c] Or: 'after the perfect state; and besides this what other there is which is aristocratical and well constituted, and at the same time adapted to states in general.'

[d] C. 12. [e] Book vi. [f] Book v.

[g] Or: 'and again both of rich and poor some are armed and some are unarmed.'

were oligarchies, and they used cavalry in wars[a] against their neighbours; as was the practice of the Eretrians and Chalcidians, and also of the Magnesians on the river
4 Mæander, and of other peoples in Asia. Besides differences of wealth there are differences of rank and
1290a. merit, and there are some other elements which were mentioned by us when in treating of aristocracy we enumerated the essentials of a state[b]. Of these elements, sometimes all, sometimes the lesser and sometimes the
5 greater number, have a share in the government. It is evident then that there must be many forms of government, differing in kind, since the parts of which they are composed differ from each other in kind. For a constitution is an organization of offices which all the citizens distribute among themselves, according to the power which different classes possess, for example the rich or the poor, or according to some principle of compensation
6 which includes both. There must therefore be as many forms of government as there are modes of arranging the offices, according to the superiorities and other inequalities of the different parts of the state.

IV. 3.

rank, merit.

There are generally thought to be two principal forms: as men say of the winds that there are but two—north and south, and that the rest of them are only variations of these, so of governments there are said to be only two
7 forms—democracy and oligarchy. For aristocracy is considered to be a kind of oligarchy, as being the rule of a few, and the so-called constitutional government to be really a democracy, just as among the winds we make the west a variation of the north, and the east of the south wind. Similarly of harmonies there are said to be two kinds, the Dorian and the Phrygian; the other arrangements of the scale are comprehended under one
8 of these two. About forms of government this is a very favourite notion. But in either case the better and more

Two generally reputed types, oligarchy and democracy.

[a] Reading either πολέμους with v. tr. (Moerbek) and Bekk. 2nd edit., or πολεμίους with the Greek MSS; cp. c. 13. § 10; vi. c. 7. § 1.

[b] Not in what has preceded, but cp. vii. 8.

IV. 3. But our classification is more precise.

exact way is to distinguish, as I have done, the one or two which are true forms, and to regard the others as perversions, whether of the most perfectly attempered harmony or of the best form of government: we may compare the oligarchical forms to the severer and more overpowering modes, and the democratic to the more relaxed and gentler ones.

4. A democracy not simply the rule of the many but of the free; oligarchy not merely of the few but of the rich.

It must not be assumed, as some are fond of saying, that democracy is simply that form of government in which the greater number are sovereign[a], for in oligarchies, and indeed in every government, the majority rules; nor again is oligarchy that form of government in which a few are sovereign. Suppose the whole population of a 2
city to be 1300, and that of these 1000 are rich, and do not allow the remaining 300 who are poor, but free, and in all other respects their equals, a share of the government—no one will say that this is a democracy. In like 3
manner, if the poor were few and the masters of the rich who outnumber them, no one would ever call such a government, in which the rich majority have no share of office, an oligarchy. Therefore we should rather say 1290 b.
that democracy is the form of government in which the free are rulers, and oligarchy in which the rich; it is 4
only an accident that the free are the many and the rich are the few. Otherwise a government in which the offices were given according to stature, as is said to be the case in Ethiopia, or according to beauty, would be an oligarchy; for the number of tall or good-looking men is small. And yet oligarchy and democracy are 5
not sufficiently distinguished merely by these two characteristics of wealth and freedom. Both of them contain many other elements, and therefore we must carry our analysis further, and say that the government is not a democracy in which the freemen, being few in number, rule over the many who are not free, as at Apollonia, on the Ionian Gulf, and at Thera; (for in each of these states the nobles, who were also the earliest settlers, were held in chief honour, although they were but a few

[a] Cp. iii. 8. §§ 3-7.

out of many). Neither is it a democracy when the rich have the government, because they exceed in number; as was the case formerly at Colophon, where the bulk of the inhabitants were possessed of large property before
6 the Lydian War. But the form of government is a democracy when the free, who are also poor and the majority, govern, and oligarchy when the rich and the noble govern, they being at the same time few in number.

IV. 4.

The qualitative and quantitative elements must both be present.

7 I have said that there are many forms of government, and have explained to what causes the variety is due. Why there are more than those already mentioned, and what they are, and whence they arise, I will now proceed to consider, starting from the principle already admitted[a], which is that every state consists, not of one,
8 but of many parts. If we were going to speak of the different species of animals, we should first of all determine the organs which are indispensable to every animal, as for example some organs of sense and instruments of receiving and digesting food, such as the mouth and the stomach, besides organs of locomotion. Assuming now that there are only so many kinds of organs, but that there may be differences in them—I mean different kinds of mouths, and stomachs, and perceptive and locomotive organs—the possible combinations of these differences will necessarily furnish many varieties of animals. (For animals cannot be the same which have different kinds of mouths or of ears.) And when all the combinations are exhausted, there will be as many sorts of animals as there are combinations of the necessary
9 organs. In like manner the forms of government which have been described, as I have repeatedly said, are composed, not of one, but of many elements. One element is the food-producing class, who are called
1291a. husbandmen; a second, the class of mechanics, who practise the arts without which a city cannot exist;— of these arts some are absolutely necessary, others con-
10 tribute to luxury or to the grace of life. The third class

Every animal has certain organs which take different forms. The various combinations of these differing forms make different species.

So the kinds of states depend on the various combinations of the elements of a state, such as (1) husbandmen, (2) mechanics, (3) traders,

[a] Cp. c. 3. § 1.

IV. 4. is that of traders, and by traders I mean those who are engaged in buying and selling, whether in commerce or in retail trade. A fourth class is that of the serfs or labourers. The warriors make up the fifth class, and they are as necessary as any of the others, if the country is not to be the slave of every invader. For how can a 11
state which has any title to the name be of a slavish nature? The state is independent and self-sufficing, but a slave is the reverse of independent. Hence we see that this subject, though ingeniously, has not been satisfactorily treated in the Republic[a]. Socrates says 12
that a state is made up of four sorts of people who are absolutely necessary; these are a weaver, a husbandman, a shoemaker, and a builder; afterwards, finding that they are not enough, he adds a smith, and again a herdsman, to look after the necessary animals; then a merchant, and then a retail trader. All these together form the complement of the first state, as if a state were established merely to supply the necessaries of life, rather than for the sake of the good, or stood equally in need of shoemakers and of husbandmen. But he does not 13
admit into the state a military class until the country has increased in size, and is beginning to encroach on its neighbour's land, whereupon they go to war. Yet even amongst his four original citizens, or whatever be the number of those whom he associates in the state, there must be some one who will dispense justice and determine what is just. And as the soul may be said to be 14
more truly part of an animal than the body, so the higher parts of states, that is to say, the warrior class, the class engaged in the administration of justice, and in deliberation, which is the special business of political common sense,—these are more essential to the state than the parts which minister to the necessaries of life. Whether 15
their several functions are the functions of different citizens, or of the same,—for it may often happen that the same persons are both warriors and husbandmen,—is im-

(4) labourers, (5) soldiers.

A criticism on Plato.

The higher classes more truly parts than the lower.

(6) The class which exercises judicial and deliberative functions.

[a] Rep. ii. 369.

material to the argument. The higher as well as the lower elements are to be equally considered parts of the state, and if so, the military element must be included. There are also the wealthy who minister to the state with their property; these form the seventh class. The eighth class is that of magistrates and of officers; for the state cannot exist without rulers. And therefore some must be able to take office and to serve the state, either always or in turn. There only remains the class of those who deliberate and who judge between disputants; we were just now distinguishing them. If the fair and equitable organization of all these elements is necessary to states, then there must also be persons who have the ability of statesmen. [a]Many are of opinion that different functions can be combined in the same individual[a]; for example, the warrior may also be a husbandman, or an artisan; or, again, the counsellor a judge. And all claim to possess political ability, and think that they are quite competent to fill most offices. But the same persons cannot be rich and poor at the same time. For this reason the rich and the poor are regarded in an especial sense as parts of a state. Again, because the rich are generally few in number, while the poor are many, they appear to be antagonistic, and as the one or the other prevails they form the government. Hence arises the common opinion that there are two kinds of government—democracy and oligarchy.

I have already explained[b] that there are many differences of constitutions, and to what causes the variety is due. Let me now show that there are different forms both of democracy and oligarchy, as will indeed be evident from what has preceded. For both in the common people and in the notables various classes are included; of the common people, one class are husbandmen, another artisans; another traders, who are employed in buying and selling; another are the sea-

IV. 4.

(7) The wealthy. (8) Magistrates.

Different functions may sometimes be united in the same person,

but poverty and riches are always antagonistic.

Democracy and oligarchy subdivided according to the differences among the common people,

[a] Or, 'Different functions appear to be often combined,' etc.

[b] Cp. iii. c. 6.

IV. 4. faring class, whether engaged in war or in trade, as ferrymen or as fishermen. (In many places any one of these classes forms quite a large population; for example, fishermen at Tarentum and Byzantium, crews of triremes at Athens, merchant seamen at Aegina and Chios, ferrymen at Tenedos.) To the classes already mentioned may be added day-labourers, and those who, owing to their needy circumstances, have no leisure, or those who are not of free birth on both sides; and there may be other classes as well. The notables again may 22
and among the notables respectively. be divided according to their wealth, birth, virtue, education, and similar differences.

(1) First form of democracy. Of forms of democracy first comes that which is said to be based strictly on equality. In such a democracy the law says that it is just for nobody to be poor, and for nobody to be rich[a]; and that neither should be masters, but both equal. For if liberty and equality, as is 23
thought by some, are chiefly to be found in democracy, they will be best attained when all persons alike share in the government to the utmost. And since the people are the majority, and the opinion of the majority is decisive, such a government must necessarily be a democracy.

(2) Second. Here then is one sort of democracy. There is another, 24
in which the magistrates are elected according to a certain property qualification, but a low one; he who has the required amount of property has a share in the government, but he who loses his property loses his

(3) Third. rights. (Another kind is that in which all the citizens 1292a.
who are under no disqualification share in the govern-

(4) Fourth. ment, but still the law is supreme.) In another, everybody, 25
if he be only a citizen, is admitted to the government,

(5) Fifth, or extreme democracy, but the law is supreme as before. A fifth form of democracy, in other respects the same, is that in which, not

[a] Or, reading ἄρχειν with Victorius, 'that the poor should no more govern than the rich.' The emendation is not absolutely necessary, though supported by vi. *a*. § 9, *ἴσον γὰρ τὸ μηθὲν μᾶλλον ἄρχειν τοὺς ἀπόρους ἢ τοὺς εὐπόρους μηδὲ κυρίους εἶναι μόνους ἀλλὰ πάντας ἐξ ἴσου κατ' ἀριθμόν.*

the law, but the multitude, have the supreme power, and IV. 4.
26 supersede the law by their decrees. This is a state of affairs brought about by the demagogues. For in democracies which are subject to the law the best citizens hold the first place, and there are no demagogues; but where the laws are not supreme, there demagogues spring up. For the people becomes a monarch, and is many in one; and (the many have the power in their hands, not
27 as individuals, but collectively.) Homer says that 'it is not good to have a rule of many[a],' but whether he means this corporate rule, or the rule of many individuals, is uncertain. And the people, who is now a monarch, and no longer under the control of law, seeks to exercise monarchical sway, and grows into a despot; the flatterer is held in honour; this sort of democracy being relatively to other democracies what tyranny is to other forms of
28 monarchy. The spirit of both is the same, and they alike exercise a despotic rule over the better citizens. The decrees of the demos correspond to the edicts of the tyrant; and the demagogue is to the one what the flatterer is to the other. Both have great power;—the flatterer with the tyrant, the demagogue with democracies
29 of the kind which we are describing. The demagogues make the decrees of the people override the laws, and refer all things to the popular assembly. And therefore they grow great, because the people have all things in their hands, and they hold in their hands the votes of
30 the people, who are too ready to listen to them. Further, those who have any complaint to bring against the magistrates say, 'let the people be judges;' the people are too happy to accept the invitation; and so the authority of every office is undermined. Such a democracy is fairly open to the objection that it is not a constitution at all; for where the laws have no authority, there is no con-
31 stitution. The law ought to be supreme over all, and the magistracies and the government should judge of

in which the tyrant people,

flattered by their leaders,

set aside the law,

until the government ceases to be a constitution.

[a] Il. 2. 204.

IV. 4. particulars. So that if democracy be a real form of government, the sort of constitution in which all things are regulated by decrees is clearly not a democracy in the true sense of the word, for decrees relate only to particulars[a].

5. These then are the different kinds of democracy. Of oligarchies, too, there are different kinds:—one where the property qualification for office is so high that the poor, although they form the majority, have no share in the government, yet he who acquires a qualification may obtain a share. Another sort is when there is a qualification for office, but a high one, and the vacancies in the governing body are filled by co-optation. If the election is made out of all the qualified persons, a constitution of this kind inclines to an aristocracy, if out of a privileged class, to an oligarchy. Another sort of oligarchy is when the son succeeds the father. There is a fourth form, likewise hereditary, in which the magistrates are supreme and not the law. Among oligarchies this is what tyranny is among monarchies, and the last-mentioned form of democracy among democracies; and in fact this sort of oligarchy receives the name of a dynasty (or rule of powerful families).

(1) First form of oligarchy.

(2)

(3)

(4)

Dynastia.

1292b.

These are the different sorts of oligarchies and democracies. It should however be remembered that in many states[b] the constitution which is established by law, although not democratic, owing to the character and habits of the people, may be administered democratically, and conversely in other states the established constitution may incline to democracy, but may be administered in an oligarchical spirit. This most often happens after a revolution: for governments do not change at once; at first the dominant party are content with encroaching a little upon their opponents. The laws which existed previously continue in force, but the authors of the revolution have the power in their hands.

Governments which are not democracies or oligarchies may be administered in a democratical or oligarchical spirit.

6. From what has been already said we may safely infer

[a] Cp. N. Eth. v. 10. § 7. [b] Cp. v. 1. § 8.

that there are so many different kinds of democracies and IV. 6.
2 of oligarchies. For it is evident that either all the classes (1) The first form—rural democracy.
whom we mentioned must share in the government, or some only and not others. When the class of husbandmen and of those who possess moderate fortunes have the supreme power, the government is administered according to law. For the citizens being compelled to live by their labour have no leisure; and so they set up the authority of the law, and attend assemblies only when
3 necessary. Since they all obtain a share in the government when they have acquired the qualification which is fixed by the law, nobody is excluded—the absolute exclusion of any class would be a step towards oligarchy. But leisure cannot be provided for them unless there are revenues to support them. This is one sort of democracy, and these are the causes which give birth to it. Another kind is based on the mode of election, [a] which naturally comes next in order [a]; in this, every one to whose birth there is no objection is eligible, and may
4 share in the government if he can find leisure. And in such a democracy the supreme power is vested in the laws, because the state has no means of paying the citizens. A third kind is when all freemen have a right to share in the government, but do not actually share, for the reason which has been already given; so that in
5 this form again the law must rule. A fourth kind of
1293a. democracy is that which comes latest in the history of states. In our own day, when cities have far outgrown their original size, and their revenues have increased, all the citizens have a place in the government, through the great preponderance of their numbers; and they all, including the poor who receive pay, and therefore have leisure to exercise their rights, share in the ad-
6 ministration. Indeed, when they are paid, the common people have the most leisure, for they are not hindered by the care of their property, which often fetters the

(2) Second form, in which every one whose parents are citizens shares, but there is no pay given;

(3) in which all free men share, and still no pay;

(4) in which pay is given. The democracy of large cities.

[a] Or, 'which is proper to it.'

IV. 6. rich, who are thereby prevented from taking part in the assembly or in the courts, and so the state is governed by the poor, who are a majority, and not by the laws. So many kinds of democracies there are, and 7 they grow out of these necessary causes.

Oligarchies, (1) first form based upon moderate property;

Of oligarchies, one form is that in which the majority of the citizens have some property, but not very much; and this is the first form, which allows to any one who obtains the required amount the right of sharing in the government. The sharers in the government being 8 a numerous body, it follows that the law must govern, and not individuals. For in proportion as they are further removed from a monarchical form of government, and in respect of property have neither so much as to be able to live without attending to business, nor so little as to need state support, they must admit the rule of law and not claim to rule themselves. But if the men 9 of property in the state are fewer than in the former case, and own more property, there arises a second form of oligarchy. For the stronger they are, the more power they claim, and having this object in view, they themselves select those of the other classes who are to be admitted to the government; but, not being as yet strong enough to rule without the law, they make the law represent their wishes. When this power is intensified 10 by a further diminution of their numbers and increase of their property, there arises a third and further stage of oligarchy, in which the governing class keep the offices in their own hands, and the law ordains that the son shall succeed the father. When, again, the rulers have great 11 wealth and numerous friends, this sort of dynastia or family despotism approaches a monarchy; individuals rule and not the law. This is the fourth sort of oligarchy, and is analogous to the last sort of democracy.

(2) in which properties are larger and the owners fewer;

(3) narrowed to families,

(4) who set aside the law.

V 7. There are still two forms besides democracy and oligarchy; one of them is universally recognized and included among the four principal forms of government which are said to be (1) monarchy, (2) oligarchy,

Two other forms, (1) aristocracy, and (2) polity.

(3) democracy, and (4) the so-called aristocracy or government of the best. But there is also a fifth, which retains the generic name of polity or constitutional government; this is not common, and therefore has not been noticed by writers who attempt to enumerate the
1293b. different kinds of government; like Plato in his books
2 about the state, they recognize four only. The term 'aristocracy' is rightly applied to the form of government which is described in the first part of our treatise; for that only can be rightly called aristocracy [the government of the best] which is a government formed of the best men absolutely, and not merely of men who are good when tried by any given standard. In the perfect state the good man is absolutely the same as the good citizen; whereas in other states the good citizen is only
3 good relatively to his own form of government. But there are some states differing from oligarchies and also differing from the so-called polity or constitutional government; these are termed aristocracies, and in them magistrates are certainly chosen, both according to their wealth and according to their merit. Such a form of government is not the same with the two just now
4 mentioned, and is termed an aristocracy. For indeed in states which do not make virtue the aim of the community, men of merit and reputation for virtue may be found. And so where a government has regard to wealth, virtue, and numbers, as at Carthage[a], that is aristocracy; and also where it has regard only to two out of the three, as at Lacedaemon, to virtue and numbers, and the two principles of democracy and virtue
5 temper each other. There are these two forms of aristocracy in addition to the first and perfect state, and there is a third form, viz. the polities which incline towards oligarchy.

IV. 7.

(1) Aristocracy not the perfect state,

but a mixed government taking three forms.

I have yet to speak of the so-called polity and of tyranny. I [redacted] them in this order, not because a polity or constitutional government is to be regarded as a

8. Polity and tyranny remain.

[a] Cp. ii. 11. §§ 5–10.

IV. 8. perversion any more than the above-mentioned aristocracies. The truth is, that they all fall short of the most perfect form of government, and so they are reckoned among perversions, and other forms (sc. the really perverted forms) are perversions of these, as I said before[a]. Last of all I will speak of tyranny, which I 2
place last in the series because I am enquiring into the constitutions of states, and this is the very reverse of a constitution.

Polity or constitutional government is a fusion of democracy and oligarchy, but inclining to democracy,

Having explained why I have adopted this order, I will proceed to consider constitutional government; of which the nature will be clearer now that oligarchy and democracy have been defined. For polity or constitu- 3
tional government may be described generally as a fusion of oligarchy and democracy; but the term is usually applied to those forms of government which incline towards democracy, and the term aristocracy to those which incline towards oligarchy, because birth and education are commonly the accompaniments of wealth. Moreover, the rich already possess the external ad- 4
vantages the want of which is a temptation to crime, and hence they are called noblemen and gentlemen. And inasmuch as aristocracy seeks to give predominance to the best of the citizens, people say also of oligarchies that they are composed of noblemen and gentlemen. Now it appears to be an impossible thing that the state 1294 a
which is governed by the best citizens should be ill- 5
governed[b], and equally impossible that the state which is ill-governed should be governed by the best. But we must remember that good laws, if they are not obeyed, do not constitute good government. For there are two 6
parts of good government; one is the actual obedience of citizens to the laws, the other part is the goodness of the laws which they obey; they may obey bad laws as well as good. And there may be a further subdivision; they may obey either the best laws which are attainable to them, or the best absolutely.

as aristocracy to oligarchy.

[a] Cp. iii. 7. [b] Omitting ἀλλὰ πονηροκρατουμένην.

IV. 8.

7 The distribution of offices according to merit is a special characteristic of aristocracy, for the principle of an aristocracy is virtue, as wealth is of an oligarchy, and freedom of a democracy. In all of them there of course exists the right of the majority, and whatever seems good to the majority of those who share in the govern-
8 ment has authority. Generally, however, a state of this kind is called a constitutional government [not an aristocracy], for the fusion goes no further than the attempt to unite the freedom of the poor and the wealth of the
9 rich, who commonly take the place of the noble. And as there are three grounds on which men claim an equal share in the government, freedom, wealth, and virtue (for the fourth or good birth is the result of the two last, being only ancient wealth and virtue), it is clear that the admixture of the two elements, that is to say, of the rich and poor, is to be called a polity or constitutional government; and the union of the three is to be called aristocracy or the government of the best, and more than any other form of government, except the true and ideal, has a right to this name.

Polity a union of freedom and wealth.

Aristocracy adds to these, virtue.

10 Thus far I have described the different forms of states which exist besides monarchy, democracy, and oligarchy, and what they are, and in what aristocracies differ from one another, and polities from aristocracies—that the two latter are not very unlike is obvious.

9.

Next we have to consider how by the side of oligarchy and democracy the so-called polity or constitutional government springs up, and how it should be organized. The nature of it will be at once understood from a comparison of oligarchy and democracy; we must ascertain their different characteristics, and taking a portion from each, put the two together, like the parts of an indenture.

Polity, how formed out of democracy and oligarchy.

2 Now there are three modes in which fusions of government may be effected. The nature of the fusion will be made intelligible by an example of the manner in which different governments legislate, say concerning the administration of justice. In oligarchies they impose a fine on

Three modes of combination.

IV. 9. the rich if they do not serve as judges, and to the poor they give no pay; but in democracies they give pay to the poor and do not fine the rich. Now (1) the union of these two modes[a] is a common or middle term between them, and is therefore characteristic of a constitutional government, for it is a combination of both. This is one mode of uniting the two elements. Or (2) a mean may be taken between the enactments of the two: thus democracies require no property qualification, or only a small one, from members of the assembly, oligarchies a high one; here neither of these is the common term, but a mean between them. (3) There is a third mode, in which something is borrowed from the oligarchical and something from the democratical principle. For example, the appointment of magistrates by lot is democratical, and the election of them oligarchical; democratical again when there is no property qualification, oligarchical when there is. In the aristocratical or constitutional state, one element will be taken from each—from oligarchy the mode of electing to offices, from democracy the disregard of qualification. Such are the various modes of combination. 3 1294b 4 5 6

First mode: Syncretism of oligarchy and democracy (?).

Second mode: a mean between the enactments of the two.

Third mode: something borrowed from each.

The fusion is most complete when the mixed government may be called either democracy or oligarchy.

There is a true union of oligarchy and democracy when the same state may be termed either a democracy or an oligarchy; those who use both names evidently feel that the fusion is complete. Such a fusion there is also in the mean; for both extremes appear in it. The Lacedaemonian constitution, for example, is often described as a democracy, because it has many democratical features. In the first place the youth receive a democratical education. For the sons of the poor are brought up with the sons of the rich, who are educated in such a manner as to make it possible for the sons of the poor to be educated like them. A similar equality prevails in the following period of life, and when the citizens are grown up to manhood the same rule is observed; there is no distinction between the rich and poor. In like 7 8

Sparta such a mixed government because it has both democratical

[a] Cp. c. 13. § 6.

manner they all have the same food at their public tables, and the rich wear only such clothing as any poor man can afford. Again, the people elect to one of the two greatest offices of state, and in the other they share[a]; for they elect the Senators and share in the Ephoralty. By others the Spartan constitution is said to be an oligarchy, because it has many oligarchical elements. That all offices are filled by election and none by lot, is one of these oligarchical characteristics; that the power of inflicting death or banishment rests with a few persons is another; and there are others. In a well attempered polity there should appear to be both elements and yet neither; also the government should rely on itself, and not on foreign aid, nor on the good will of a majority of foreign states—they might be equally well-disposed when there is a vicious form of government—but on the general willingness of all classes in the state to maintain the constitution. IV. 9. and oligarchical elements.

Enough of the manner in which a constitutional government, and in which the so-called aristocracies ought to be framed.

1295a. Of the nature of tyranny I have still to speak, in order that it may have its place in our enquiry, since even tyranny is reckoned by us to be a form of government, although there is not much to be said about it. I have already in the former part of this treatise[b] discussed royalty or kingship according to the most usual meaning of the term, and considered whether it is or is not advantageous to states, and what kind of royalty should be established, and whence, and how it arises. 10. Tyranny.

When speaking of royalty we also spoke of two forms of tyranny, which are both according to law, and therefore easily pass into royalty. Among Barbarians there are elected monarchs who exercise a despotic power; despotic rulers were also elected in ancient Hellas, called Aesymnetes or dictators. These monarchies, when compared with one another, exhibit certain differences. And The two legal forms of tyranny already discussed under royalty, viz. (1) Barbarian monarchies, (2) Dictatorships.

[a] Cp. ii. 9. § 21. [b] iii. 14–17.

IV. 10. they are, as I said before, royal, in so far as the monarch rules according to law and over willing subjects; but they are tyrannical in so far as he is despotic and rules according to his own fancy. There is also a third kind of tyranny, which is the most typical form, and is the counterpart of the perfect monarchy. This tyranny is just that arbitrary 4 power of an individual which is responsible to no one, and governs all alike, whether equals or betters, with a view to its own advantage, not to that of its subjects, and therefore against their will. No freeman, if he can escape from it, will endure such a government.

(3) Tyranny proper.

The kinds of tyranny are such and so many, and for the reasons which I have given.

11. We have now to enquire what is the best constitution for most states, and the best life for most men, neither assuming a standard of virtue which is above ordinary persons, nor an education which is exceptionally favoured by nature and circumstances, nor yet an ideal state which is an aspiration only, but having regard to the life in which the majority are able to share, and to the form of government which states in general can attain. As to 2 those aristocracies, as they are called, of which we were just now speaking, they either lie beyond the possibilities of the greater number of states, or they approximate to the so-called constitutional government, and therefore need no separate discussion. And in fact the conclusion at which we arrive respecting all these forms rests upon the same grounds. For if it has been truly 3 said in the Ethics[a] that the happy life is the life according to unimpeded virtue, and that virtue is a mean, then the life which is in a mean, and in a mean attainable by every one, must be the best. And the same principles of virtue and vice are characteristic of cities and of constitutions; for the constitution is in a figure the life of the 1295b. city[b].

What is the best state for men in general?

Virtue is a mean.

The state should be in a mean,

Now in all states there are three elements; one class is 4 very rich, another very poor, and a third in a mean. It

[a] N. Eth. vii. 13. § 2.

[b] Cp. iii. 3. §§ 7, 8.

is admitted that moderation and the mean are best, and IV. 11.
therefore it will clearly be best to possess the gifts of
fortune in moderation; for in that condition of life men
5 are most ready to listen to reason. But he who greatly
excels in beauty, strength, birth or wealth, or on the
other hand who is very poor, or very weak, or very much
disgraced, finds it difficult to follow reason[a]. Of these
two the one sort grow into violent and great criminals,
the others into rogues and petty rascals. And two sorts
of offences correspond to them[b], the one committed from
violence, the other from roguery. The petty rogues are
disinclined to hold office, whether military or civil, and
their aversion to these two duties is as great an injury to
6 the state as their tendency to crime. Again, those who
have too much of the goods of fortune, strength, wealth,
friends, and the like, are neither willing nor able to
submit to authority. The evil begins at home: for
when they are boys, by reason of the luxury in which
they are brought up[c], they never learn, even at school,
the habit of obedience. On the other hand, the very
7 poor, who are in the opposite extreme, are too degraded.
So that the one class cannot obey, and can only rule
despotically; the other knows not how to command and
must be ruled like slaves. Thus arises a city, not of
freemen, but of masters and slaves, the one despising,
the other envying; and nothing can be more fatal to
friendship and good fellowship in states than this: for
good fellowship tends to friendship; when men are at
enmity with one another, they would rather not even share
8 the same path. But a city ought to be composed, as far
as possible, of equals and similars; and these are generally
the middle classes. Wherefore the city which is com-
posed of middle-class citizens is necessarily best governed;
they are, as we say, the natural elements of a state. And
this is the class of citizens which is most secure in a state,
9 for they do not, like the poor, covet their neighbours'

and should therefore be ruled neither by the very rich

nor by the very poor.

but by the middle class.

[a] Cp. Pl. Rep. iv. 421 C, D ff.
[b] Laws viii. 831 E.
[c] Cp. v. 9. § 13.

IV. 11. goods; nor do others covet theirs, as the poor covet the
The middle class: their virtues. goods of the rich; and as they neither plot against others, nor are themselves plotted against, they pass through life safely. Wisely then did Phocylides pray,—

'Many things are best in the mean; I desire to be of a middle condition in my city.'

They balance the state, and keep it from extremes

Thus it is manifest that the best political community 10
is formed by citizens of the middle class, and that those states are likely to be well-administered, in which the middle class is large, and larger if possible than both the other classes, or at any rate than either singly; for the addition of the middle class turns the scale, and prevents either of the extremes from being dominant. Great then 11
is the good fortune of a state in which the citizens have a moderate and sufficient property; for where some 1296a
possess much, and the others nothing, there may arise an extreme democracy, or a pure oligarchy; or a tyranny may grow out of either extreme,—either out of the most rampant democracy, or out of an oligarchy; but it is not so likely to arise out of a middle and nearly equal condition. I will explain the reason of this hereafter, when 12
I speak of the revolutions of states[a]. The mean condition of states is clearly best, for no other is free from faction; and where the middle class is large, there are
and factions. least likely to be factions and dissensions. For a similar 13
reason large states are less liable to faction than small ones, because in them the middle class is large; whereas in small states it is easy to divide all the citizens into two classes who are either rich or poor, and to leave nothing
The greater safety of democracies due to them. in the middle. And democracies are safer[b] and more 14
permanent than oligarchies, because they have a middle class which is more numerous and has a greater share in the government; for when there is no middle class, and the poor greatly exceed in number, troubles arise, and
The best legislators of a middle class. the state soon comes to an end. A proof of the su- 15
periority of the middle class is that the best legislators have been of a middle condition; for example, Solon, as

[a] Cp. Bk. v. [b] Cp. v. 1. § 15; 7. § 6.

his own verses testify; and Lycurgus, for he was not a king; and Charondas, and almost all legislators. IV. 11.

16 These considerations will help us to understand why most governments are either democratical or oligarchical. The reason is that the middle class is seldom numerous in them, and whichever party, whether the rich or the common people, transgresses the mean and predominates, draws the government to itself, and thus arises either 17 oligarchy or democracy. There is another reason—the poor and the rich quarrel with one another, and whichever side gets the better, instead of establishing a just or popular government, regards political supremacy as the prize of victory, and the one party sets up a 18 democracy and the other an oligarchy. Both the parties which had the supremacy in Hellas looked only to the interest of their own form of government, and established in states, the one, democracies, and the other, oligarchies; they thought of their own advantage, of the public not at 19 all. For these reasons the middle form of government has rarely, if ever, existed, and among a very few only. One man alone of all who ever ruled in Hellas was induced to give this middle constitution to states. But it has 1296 b. now become a habit among the citizens of states, not even to care about equality; all men are seeking for dominion, or, if conquered, are willing to submit.

The middle class is generally small: rich and poor contend with each other for supremacy.

Once only a middle constitution existed in Hellas.

20 What then is the best form of government, and what makes it the best is evident; and of other states, since we say that there are many kinds of democracy and many of oligarchy, it is not difficult to see which has the first and which the second or any other place in the order of excellence, now that we have determined which is the best. 21 For that which is nearest to the best must of necessity be better, and that which is furthest from it worse, if we are judging absolutely and not relatively to given conditions: I say 'relatively to given conditions,' since a particular government may be preferable for some, but another form may be better for others.

Of other states, that which is nearest to the best is best.

We have now to consider what and what kind of 12.

IV. 12. government is suitable to what and what kind of men.

What governments suit what men? We begin by asking which element is the stronger. If quantity, democracy; if quality, oligarchy.

I may begin by assuming, as a general principle common to all governments, that the portion of the state which desires permanence ought to be stronger than that which desires the reverse. Now every city is composed of quality and quantity. By quality I mean freedom, wealth, education, good birth, and by quantity, superiority of numbers. Quality may exist in one of the classes which 2
make up the state, and quantity in the other. For example, the meanly-born may be more in number than the well-born, or the poor than the rich, yet they may not so much exceed in quantity as they fall short in quality; and therefore there must be a comparison of 3
quantity and quality. Where the number of the poor is more than proportioned to the wealth of the rich, there will naturally be a democracy, varying in form with the sort of people who compose it in each case. If, for example, the husbandmen exceed in number, the first form of democracy will then arise; if the artisans and labouring class, the last; and so with the intermediate forms. But where the rich and the notables exceed in quality more than they fall short in quantity, there oligarchy arises, similarly assuming various forms according to the kind of superiority possessed by the oligarchs.

The middle class the mediator.

The legislator should always include the middle class 4
in his government; if he makes his laws oligarchical, to the middle class let him look; if he makes them democratical, he should equally by his laws try [a]to attach this class to the state[a]. There only can the government ever be stable where the middle class exceeds one or both of the others, and in that case there will be no fear that 1297a.
the rich will unite with the poor against the rulers. For 5
neither of them will ever be willing to serve the other, and if they look for some form of government more suitable to both, they will find none better than this, for the rich and the poor will never consent to rule in turn,

[a] Or, if προσάγεσθαι can govern τοῖς νόμοις, 'to win this class over to his laws.'

because they mistrust one another. The arbiter is always the one trusted, and he who is in the middle is an arbiter. The more perfect the admixture of the political elements, the more lasting will be the state. Many even of those who desire to form aristocratical governments make a mistake, not only in giving too much power to the rich, but in attempting to overreach the people. There comes a time when out of a false good there arises a true evil, since the encroachments of the rich are more destructive to the state than those of the people. IV. 12. Permanence due to harmony and moderation, not to the exaggeration of a single principle.

The devices by which oligarchies deceive the people are five in number; they relate to (1) the assembly; (2) the magistracies; (3) the courts of law; (4) the use of arms; (5) gymnastic exercises. (1) The assemblies are thrown open to all, but either the rich only are fined for non-attendance, or a much larger fine is inflicted upon them. (2) As to the magistracies, those who are qualified by property cannot decline office upon oath, but the poor may. (3) In the law-courts the rich, and the rich only, are fined if they do not serve, the poor are let off with impunity, or, as in the laws of Charondas, a large fine is inflicted on the rich, and a smaller one on the poor. In some states all citizens who have registered themselves are allowed to attend the assembly and to try causes; but if after registration they do not attend in the assembly or at the courts, heavy fines are imposed upon them. The intention is that through fear of the fines they may avoid registering themselves, and then they cannot sit in the law-courts or in the assembly. (4) Concerning the possession of arms, and (5) gymnastic exercises, they legislate in a similar spirit. For the poor are not obliged to have arms, but the rich are fined for not having them; and in like manner no penalty is inflicted on the poor for non-attendance at the gymnasium, and consequently, having nothing to fear, they do not attend, whereas the rich are liable to a fine, and therefore they take care to attend. 13. Oligarchical devices in respect of (1) the assemblies; (2) the magistracies; (3) the law-courts; (4) the possession of arms, and (5) gymnastic exercises.

IV. 13. These are the devices of oligarchical legislators, and in 5
Democracies have their counter devices, but moderation and a mixture of principles is better.
democracies they have counter devices. They pay the poor for attending the assemblies and the law-courts, and they inflict no penalty on the rich for non-attendance. It is obvious that he who would duly mix the 6
two principles should combine the practice of both, and provide that the poor should be paid to attend, and the rich fined if they do not attend, for then all will take part; if there is no such combination, power will be in
The heavy-armed should be the governing class, and those who share in the government should exceed in number those who are excluded.
the hands of one party only. The government should 1297 b. 7
be confined to those who carry arms. As to the property qualification, no absolute rule can be laid down, but we must see what is the highest qualification sufficiently comprehensive to secure that the number of those who have the rights of citizens exceeds the number of those excluded. Even if they have no share in office, the 8
poor, provided only that they are not outraged or deprived of their property, will be quiet enough.

The poor should be well treated.
But to secure gentle treatment for the poor is not an easy thing, since a ruling class is not always humane. And in time of war the poor are apt to hesitate unless 9
they are fed; when fed, they are willing enough to fight. In some states the government is vested, not only in those who are actually serving, but also in those who have served; among the Malians, for example, the governing body consisted of the latter, while the magistrates were chosen from those actually on service. And 10
the earliest government which existed among the Hellenes, after the overthrow of the kingly power, grew up out of the warrior class, and was originally taken from the

Relation of political to military power.

Cavalry the strength of an oligarchy,
knights (for strength and superiority in war at that time depended on cavalry[a]); indeed, without discipline, infantry are useless, and in ancient times there was no military knowledge or tactics, and therefore the strength

the heavy-armed of a polity or moderate democracy.
of armies lay in their cavalry. But when cities increased and the heavy armed grew in strength, more had a share in the government; and this is the reason why 11

[a] Cp. c. 3. § 3; vi. 7. § 1.

the states, which we call constitutional governments, have been hitherto called democracies. Ancient constitutions, as might be expected, were oligarchical and royal; their population being small they had no considerable middle class; the people were weak in numbers and organization, and were therefore more contented to be governed. IV. 13.

12 I have explained why there are various forms of government, and why there are more than is generally supposed; for democracy, as well as other constitutions, has more than one form: also what their differences are, and whence they arise, and what is the best form of government, speaking generally, and to whom the various forms of government are best suited; all this has now been explained. Summary of questions already discussed.

Having thus gained an appropriate basis of discussion we will proceed to speak of the points which follow next in order. We will consider the subject not only in general but with reference to particular states. All states have three elements, and the good law-giver has to regard what is expedient for each state. When they are well-ordered, the state is well-ordered, and as they differ
2 from one another, constitutions differ. What is the
1298a. element first (1) which deliberates about public affairs; secondly (2) which is concerned with the magistrates and determines what they should be, over whom they should exercise authority, and what should be the mode of electing them; and thirdly (3) which has judicial power? 14. A new subject: the distribution of (1) deliberative, (2) executive, (3) judicial, powers in different states.

The deliberative element has authority in matters of war and peace, in making and unmaking alliances; it passes laws, inflicts death, exile, confiscation, audits the accounts of magistrates. All these powers must be assigned either to all the citizens or to some of them, for example, to one or more magistracies; or different causes to different magistracies, or some of them to all, and others of them
4 only to some. That all things should be decided by all is characteristic of democracy; this is the sort of equality which the people desire. But there are various ways in 1. The deliberative element.

IV. 14. which all may share in the government; they may deliberate, not all in one body, but by turns, as in the constitution of Telecles the Milesian. There are other states in which the boards of magistrates meet and deliberate, but come into office by turns, and are elected out of the tribes and the very smallest divisions of the state, until every one has obtained office in his turn. The citizens, on the other hand, are assembled only for the purposes of legislation, and to consult about the constitution, and to hear the edicts of the magistrates. In another variety of democracy the citizens form one assembly, but meet only to elect magistrates, to pass laws, to advise about war and peace, and to make scrutinies. Other matters are referred severally to special magistrates, who are elected by vote or by lot out of all the citizens. Or again, the citizens meet about election to offices and about scrutinies, and deliberate concerning war or alliances, while other matters are administered by the magistrates, who, as far as is possible, are elected by vote[a]. I am speaking of those magistracies in which special knowledge is required. A fourth form of democracy is when all the citizens meet to deliberate about everything, and the magistrates decide nothing, but only make the preliminary enquiries; and that is the way in which the last and worst form of democracy, corresponding, as we maintain, to the close family oligarchy and to tyranny, is at present administered. All these modes are democratical.

In democracies either (1) all share in the government by turns, but the magistrates have the chief power;

or (2) there is an assembly, but it rarely meets; and the magistrates retain their power;

(3) [? a repetition of 2];

(4) the assembly supreme.

On the other hand, that some should deliberate about all is oligarchical. This again is a mode which, like the democratical, has many forms. When the deliberative class being elected out of those who have a moderate qualification are numerous and they respect and obey the law without altering it, and any one who has the required qualification shares in the government, then, just because of this moderation, the oligarchy inclines towards polity. But when only selected individuals and not the whole people share in the deliberations of the state, then,

In oligarchies (1) Moderate qualification and rule of law.

(2) Select representatives and rule of law.

[a] Cp. vi. 2. § 5.

although, as in the former case, they observe the law,
9 the government is a pure oligarchy. Or, again, when those who have the power of deliberation are self-elected, and son succeeds father, and they and not the laws are supreme—the government is of necessity oligarchical.

(3) Some oligarchies cooptative and hereditary.

10 Where, again, particular persons have authority in particular matters;—for example, when the whole people decide about peace and war and hold scrutinies, but the magistrates regulate everything else, and they are elected either by vote or by lot—there [a] the form of government is an aristocracy or polity [a]. And if some questions are decided by magistrates elected by vote, and others by magistrates elected by lot, either absolutely or out of select candidates, or elected both by vote and by lot—these practices are partly characteristic of an aristocratical government, and partly of a pure constitutional government.

(4) Containing also non-oligarchical elements.

11 These are the various forms of the deliberative body; they correspond to the various forms of government. And the government of each state is administered according to one or other of the principles which have
12 been laid down. Now it is for the interest of democracy, according to the most prevalent notion of it (I am speaking of that extreme form of democracy, in which the people are supreme even over the laws), with a view to better deliberation to adopt the custom of oligarchies respecting courts of law. For in oligarchies the rich who are wanted to be judges are compelled to attend under pain of a fine, whereas in democracies the poor are paid to attend. And this practice of oligarchies should be adopted by democracies in their public assemblies, for they will advise better if they all deliberate together,—the people with the notables and the notables with the
13 people. It is also a good plan that those who deliberate should be elected by vote or by lot in equal numbers out

A democracy should have some oligarchical features.

[a] Reading with several of the MSS *ἀριστοκρατία ἡ πολιτεία*, and omitting *μέν*. Or, with Bekker's text, *ἀριστοκρατία μὲν ἡ πολιτεία*, 'the government is an aristocracy.'

IV. 14. of the different classes; and that if the people greatly exceed in number those who have political training, pay should not be given to all, but only to as many as would balance the number of the notables, or that the number in excess should be eliminated by lot. But in oligarchies 14
and an oligarchy some democratical features.
either certain persons should be chosen out of the mass, or a class of officers should be appointed such as exist in some states, who are termed probuli and guardians of the law; and the citizens should occupy themselves exclusively with matters on which these have previously deliberated; for so the people will have a share in the deliberations of the state, but will not be able to disturb the principles of the constitution. Again, in oligarchies 15
either the people ought to accept the measures of the government, or not to pass anything contrary to them; or, if all are allowed to share in counsel, the decision should rest with the magistrates. The opposite of what is done in constitutional governments should be the rule in oligarchies; the veto of the majority should be final, their assent not final, but the proposal should be referred back to the magistrates. Whereas in constitutional 16
governments they take the contrary course; the few have the negative not the affirmative power; the affirmation of everything rests with the multitude. 1299a.

These, then, are our conclusions respecting the deliberative, that is, the supreme element in states.

15. Next we will proceed to consider the distribution of
2. The distribution of offices; their number, tenure.
offices; this, too, being a part of politics concerning which many questions arise:—What shall their number be? Over what shall they preside, and what shall be their duration? Sometimes they last for six months, sometimes for less; sometimes they are annual, whilst in other cases offices are held for still longer periods. Shall they be for life or for a long term of years; or, if for a short term only, shall the same persons hold them over and
Mode of appointment.
over again, or once only? Also about the appointment to them,—from whom are they to be chosen, by whom, and how? We should first be in a position to say what are 2

the possible varieties of them, and then we may proceed IV. 15.
to determine which are suited to different forms of government. But what are to be included under the term 'offices'? That is a question not quite so easily answered. For a political community requires many officers; Magistracies.
and not every one who is chosen by vote or by lot is to Definition of political office.
be regarded as a ruler. In the first place there are the priests, who must be distinguished from political officers;
3 masters of choruses and heralds, even ambassadors, are elected by vote [but still they are not political officers]. Some duties of superintendence again are political, extending either to all the citizens in a single sphere of action, like the office of the general who superintends them when they are in the field, or to a section of them only, like the inspectorships of women or of youth. Other offices are concerned with household management, like that of the corn measurers who exist in many states and are elected officers. There are also menial offices which the
4 rich have executed by their slaves. Speaking generally, they are to be called offices to which the duties are assigned of deliberating about certain measures and Office implies command.
of judging and commanding, especially the last; for to command is the especial duty of a magistrate. But the question is not of any importance in practice; no one has ever brought into court the meaning of the word, although such problems have a speculative interest.

5 What kinds of offices, and how many, are necessary to the existence of a state, and which, if not necessary, yet conduce to its well-being, are much more important considerations, affecting all states, but more especially small
6 ones. For in great states it is possible, and indeed In large states offices should be numerous and special.
necessary, that every office should have a special function; where the citizens are numerous, many may hold office. And so it happens that vacancies occur in some offices only after long intervals, or the office is held once only; and certainly every work is better done which
1299b. receives the sole[a], and not the divided attention of the

[a] Cp. ii. 2. § 6.

IV. 15. worker. But in small states it is necessary to combine 7
In small states they must be combined.
many offices in a few hands[a], since the small number of citizens does not admit of many holding office:—for who will there be to succeed them? And yet small states at times require the same offices and laws as large ones; the difference is that the one want them often, the others only after long intervals. Hence there is no reason why 8 the care of many offices should not be imposed on the same person, for they will not interfere with each other. When the population is small, offices should be like the spits which also serve to hold a lamp[b]. We must first ascertain how many magistrates are necessary in every state, and also how many are not exactly necessary, but are nevertheless useful, and then there will be no difficulty
What combinations of offices are desirable?
in judging what offices can be combined in one. We 9 should also know when local tribunals are to have jurisdiction over many different matters, and when authority should be centralized: for example, should one person keep order in the market and another in some other place, or should the same person be responsible everywhere? Again, should offices be divided according to the subjects with which they deal, or according to the persons with whom they deal: I mean to say, should one person see to good order in general, or one look after the boys, another after
Should they differ under different constitutions? In some cases.
the women, and so on? Further, under different consti- 10 tutions, should the magistrates be the same or different? For example, in democracy, oligarchy, aristocracy, monarchy, should there be the same magistrates, although they are elected, not out of equal or similar classes of citizens, but differently under different constitutions — in aristocracies, for example, they are chosen from the educated, in oligarchies from the wealthy, and in democracies from the free,—or are there different offices proper to different constitutions[c], and may the same be suitable to some, but unsuitable to others? For in some states it may be convenient that the same office

[a] Cp. vi. 8. [b] Cp. Note on i. 2. § 3.
[c] See note.

should have a more extensive, in other states a narrower IV. 15.
11 sphere. Special offices are peculiar to certain forms of government: — for example [to oligarchies] that of probuli, which is not a democratic office, although a bule or council is. There must be some body of men whose duty is to prepare measures for the people in order that they may not be diverted from their business; when these are few in number, the state inclines to an oligarchy: or rather the probuli must always be few, and
12 are therefore an oligarchical element. But when both institutions exist in a state, the probuli are a check on the council; for the counsellor is a democratic element, but the probuli are oligarchical. Even the power of the council disappears when democracy has
1300a. taken that extreme form, in which the people themselves are always meeting and deliberating about everything.
13 This is the case when the members of the assembly are wealthy or receive pay; for they have nothing to do and are always holding assemblies and deciding everything for themselves. A magistracy which controls the boys or the women, or any similar office, is suited to an aristocracy rather than to a democracy; for how can the magistrates prevent the wives of the poor from going out of doors? Neither is it an oligarchical office; for the wives of the oligarchs are too fine to be controlled.

E. g. the probuli an oligarchic office, the bule democratic,

a censorship aristocratic.

14 Enough of these matters. I will now enquire into the appointment of offices. There are three questions to be answered, and the combinations of answers give all possible differences: first, who appoints? secondly, from
15 whom? and thirdly, how? Each of these three may further differ in three ways: (1) All the citizens, or only some, appoint; (2) Either the magistrates are chosen out of all or out of some who are distinguished either by a property qualification, or by birth, or merit, or for some special reason, as at Megara only those were eligible who had returned from exile and fought together against the democracy; (3) They may be appointed either by
16 vote or by lot. Again, these several modes may be

The appointment of offices.

(1) By whom? by all or by some.

(2) Out of whom? out of all or out of some.

(3) How? by vote or by lot.

IV. 15. combined, I mean that some officers may be elected by some, others by all, and some again out of some, and others out of all, and some by vote and others by lot. Each of these differences admits of four variations. 17

Or by a combination of both.

Possible varieties.

(1) Either all may elect out of all by vote, or all out of all by lot; and either out of all collectively or by sections, as, for example, by tribes, and wards, and phratries, until all the citizens have been gone through; or the citizens may be in all cases eligible indiscriminately, and in some cases they may be elected by vote, and in some by lot. Again (2), if only some appoint, they may appoint out of all by vote, or out of all by lot; or out of some by vote, out of some by lot, and some offices may be appointed in one way and some in another, I mean if they are appointed by all they may be appointed partly by vote and partly by lot[a]. Thus there will be twelve forms of appointment without including the two combinations in the mode of election. 18

Democratical,

Of these varieties two are democratic forms, namely, 19 when the choice is made by all the people out of all by vote or by lot, or by both, that is to say, some by lot and some by vote. The cases in which they do not all appoint at one time, but some appoint out of all or out of some by vote or by lot or by both, (I mean some by lot and some by vote,) or some out of all and others out of some both by lot and vote, are characteristic of a polity or constitutional government. That some should be appointed out 20 of all by vote or by lot or by both, is oligarchical, and still more oligarchical when some are elected from all and some from some. That some should be elected out of all and some out of some, or again some by vote and others by lot, is characteristic of a constitutional govern- 1300b. ment, which inclines to an aristocracy. That some 21 should be chosen out of some, and some taken by lot out of some, is oligarchical [b]though not equally oligarchical[b];

oligarchical and other modes of appointment.

[a] i. e. partly out of all and partly out of some, and partly by vote and partly by lot (see infra c. 16. § 6).

[b] These words are bracketted by Bekker in both editions.

oligarchical, too, is the appointment of some out of some in both ways, and of some out of all. But that all should elect by vote out of some is aristocratical. IV. 15.

22 These are the different ways of constituting magistrates, and in this manner officers correspond to different forms of government:—which are proper to which, or how they ought to be established, will be evident when we determine the nature of their powers[a]. By powers I mean such power as a magistrate exercises over the revenue or in defence of the country; for there are various kinds of power: the power of the general, for example, is not the same with that which regulates contracts in the market. Powers of magistrates different in kind.

Of the three parts of government, the judicial remains to be considered, and this we shall divide on the same principle. There are three points on which the varieties of law-courts depend:—The persons from whom they are appointed, the matters with which they are concerned, and the manner of their appointment. I mean, (1) are the judges taken from all, or from some only? (2) how many kinds of law-courts are there? (3) are the judges chosen by vote or by lot? 16. 3. Law-courts: (1) How many? (2) Who are to be judges? (3) How appointed?

2 First, let me determine how many kinds of law-courts there are. They are eight in number: One is the court of audits or scrutinies; a second takes cognizance of [ordinary] offences against the state; a third is concerned with treason against the government; the fourth determines disputes respecting penalties, whether raised by magistrates or by private persons; the fifth decides the more important civil cases; the sixth tries cases of 3 homicide, which are of various kinds, (1) premeditated, (2) unpremeditated, (3) cases in which the guilt is confessed but the justice is disputed; and there may be a fourth court (4) in which murderers who have fled from justice are tried after their return; such as the Court of Phreatto is said to be at Athens. But cases of this sort (1) There are eight law-courts.

[a] Omitting *καί* with some MSS and the old translator.

IV. 16. rarely happen at all even in large cities. The different kinds of homicide may be tried either by the same or by different courts. (7) There are courts for strangers:— 4 of these there are two subdivisions, (1) for the settlement of their disputes with one another, (2) for the settlement of disputes between them and the citizens. And besides all these there must be (8) courts for small suits about sums of a drachma up to five drachmas, or a little more, which have to be determined, but they do not require many judges.

Nothing more need be said of these small suits, nor 5 of the courts for homicide and for strangers:—I would rather speak of political cases, which, when mismanaged, create division and disturbances in states.

(2) The judges may be taken wholly or partly out of all or out of some; (3) by vote or by lot.

Now if all the citizens judge, in all the different cases which I have distinguished, they may be appointed by vote or by lot, or sometimes by lot and sometimes by vote. Or when a certain class of causes are tried, the judges who decide them may be appointed, some by vote, and some by lot. These then are the four modes 1301a. 6 of appointing judges from the whole people, and there will be likewise four modes, if they are elected from a part only; for they may be appointed from some by vote and judge in all causes; or they may be appointed from some by lot and judge in all causes; or they may be elected in some cases by vote, and in some cases taken by lot, or some courts, even when judging the same causes, may be composed of members some appointed by vote and some by lot. These then are the ways in which the aforesaid judges may be appointed.

Once more, the modes of appointment may be com- 7 bined, I mean, that some may be chosen out of the whole people, others out of some, some out of both; for example, the same tribunal may be composed of some who were elected out of all, and of others who were elected out of some, either by vote or by lot or by both.

In how many forms law-courts can be established has 8 now been considered. The first form, viz. that in which

the judges are taken from all the citizens, and in which all causes are tried, is democratical; the second, which is composed of a few only who try all causes, oligarchical; the third, in which some courts are taken from all classes, and some from certain classes only, aristocratical and constitutional. IV. 16. Which modes democratical, which oligarchical, which aristocratical.

BOOK V.

V. 1. What causes preserve and destroy states.

THE design which we proposed to ourselves is now nearly completed[a]. Next in order follow the causes of revolution in states, how many, and of what nature they are; what elements work ruin in particular states, and out of what, and into what they mostly change; also what are the elements of preservation in states generally, or in a particular state, and by what means each state may be best preserved: these questions remain to be considered.

Government is always based on some kind of justice.

In the first place we must assume as our starting-point 2
that in the many forms of government which have sprung
up there has always been an acknowledgment of justice
and[b] proportionate equality, although mankind fail in
attaining them, as indeed I have already explained[c].
Democracy, for example, arises out of the notion that 3
those who are equal in any respect are equal in all
respects; because men are equally free, they claim to
be absolutely equal. Oligarchy is based on the notion
that those who are unequal in one respect are in all
respects unequal; being unequal, that is, in property,
they suppose themselves to be unequal absolutely. The 4
democrats think that as they are equal they ought to be
equal in all things; while the oligarchs, under the idea
that they are unequal, claim too much, which is one form
of inequality. All these forms of government have a 5
kind of justice, but, tried by an absolute standard, they
are faulty; and, therefore, both parties, whenever their
share in the government does not accord with their pre-

Those who think they have not

[a] Cp. iv. c. 2.
[b] Reading *καί* with the MSS and Bekker's first edition.
[c] Cp. iii. 9. §§ 1–4.

6 conceived ideas, stir up revolution. Those who excel in
1301 b. virtue have the best right of all to rebel (for they alone for their rights, make revolutions.
can with reason be deemed absolutely unequal)[a], but then
7 they are of all men the least inclined to do so[b]. There
is also a superiority which is claimed by men of rank;
for they are thought noble because they spring from
wealthy and virtuous ancestors[c].) Here then, so to speak,
8 are opened the very springs and fountains of revolution;
and hence arise two sorts of changes in governments; the
one affecting the constitution, when men seek to change
from an existing form into some other, for example, from
democracy into oligarchy, and from oligarchy into demo-
cracy, or from either of them into constitutional govern-
ment or aristocracy, and conversely; the other not
affecting the constitution, when, without disturbing the
form of government, whether oligarchy, or monarchy, or
any other, they try to get the administration into their
9 own hands[d]. Further, there is a question of degree; an
oligarchy, for example, may become more or less oligar-
chical, and a democracy more or less democratical; and
in like manner the characteristics of the other forms of
government may be more or less strictly maintained.
10 Or, the revolution may be directed against a portion of
the constitution only, e.g. the establishment or overthrow
of a particular office: as at Sparta it is said that Lysander
attempted to overthrow the monarchy, and king Pausa-
nias[e], the ephoralty. At Epidamnus, too, the change
was partial. For instead of phylarchs or heads of tribes,
11 a council was appointed; but to this day the magistrates
are the only members of the ruling class who are com-
pelled to go to the Heliaea when an election takes place,
and the office of the single archon[f] [survives, which] is
another oligarchical feature. Everywhere inequality is a
cause of revolution, but an inequality in which there is
no proportion, for instance, a perpetual monarchy among

Revolution of two kinds: (1) when the constitution is changed, (2) when the persons only are changed.

The change may be one of degree, or partial; illustrations from Sparta and Epidamnus.

[a] Cp. iii. 13. § 25.
[b] Cp. c. 4. § 12.
[c] Cp. iv. 8. § 9.
[d] Cp. iv. 5. § 3.
[e] Cp. vii. 14. § 20.
[f] Cp. iii. 16. § 1.

V. 1. equals; and always it is the desire of equality which rises in rebellion.

Equality of two kinds, numerical and proportional.

Now equality is of two kinds, numerical and proportional; by the first I mean sameness or equality in number or size; by the second, equality of ratios. For example, the excess of three over two is equal to the excess of two over one; whereas four exceeds two in the same ratio in which two exceeds one, for two is the same part of four that one is of two, namely, the half. As I was 13 saying before[a], men agree about justice in the abstract, but they differ about proportion[b]; some think that if they are equal in any respect they are equal absolutely, others that if they are unequal in any respect they are unequal in all. Hence there are two principal forms of govern- 14 ment, democracy and oligarchy; for good birth and virtue are rare, but wealth and numbers are more com- 1302a mon. In what city shall we find a hundred persons of good birth and of virtue? whereas the poor everywhere abound. That a state should be ordered, simply and wholly, according to either kind of equality, is not a good thing; the proof is the fact that such forms of government never last. They are originally based on a mistake, and, 15 as they begin badly, cannot fail to end badly. The inference is that both kinds of equality should be employed; numerical in some cases, and proportionate in others.

Democracy safer than oligarchy.

Still democracy appears to be safer and less liable to revolution than oligarchy[c]. For in oligarchies[d] there is 16 the double danger of the oligarchs falling out among themselves and also with the people; but in democracies[e] there is only the danger of a quarrel with the oligarchs. No dissension worth mentioning arises among the people themselves. And we may further remark that a government which is composed of the

[a] Cp. § 2; iii. 9. §§ 1–4.

[b] Or, placing a comma (as Bekker has done in his second edition) after τὸ καθ' ἀξίαν, 'while men agree that justice is proportion, they differ in thinking—some that,' etc.

[c] Cp. iv. 11. § 14. [d] Cp. c. 6. [e] Cp. c. 5.

middle class more nearly approximates to democracy than to oligarchy[a], and is the safest of the imperfect forms of government. V. 1.

In considering how dissensions and political revolutions arise, we must first of all ascertain the beginnings and causes of them which affect constitutions generally. They may be said to be three in number; and we have now to give an outline of each. We want to know (1) what is the feeling? and (2) what are the motives of those who make them? (3) whence arise political disturbances and 2 quarrels? The universal and chief cause of this revolutionary feeling has been already mentioned; viz. the desire of equality, when men think that they are equal to others who have more than themselves; or, again, the desire of inequality and superiority, when conceiving themselves to be superior they think that they have not 3 more but the same or less than their inferiors; pretensions which may and may not be just. (Inferiors revolt in order that they may be equal, and equals that they may be superior.) Such is the state of mind which creates revolutions. The motives for making them are the desire of gain and honour, or the fear of dishonour and loss; the authors of them want to divert punishment or dishonour 4 from themselves or their friends. The causes and reasons of these motives and dispositions which are excited in men, about the things which I have mentioned, viewed in one way, may be regarded as seven, and in another as more 5 than seven. Two of them have been already noticed[b]; but they act in a different manner, for men are excited against one another by the love of gain and honour—not, as in the case which I have just supposed, in order to 1302b. obtain them for themselves, but at seeing others, justly 6 or unjustly, engrossing them. Other causes are insolence, fear, love of superiority, contempt, disproportionate increase in some part of the state; causes of another sort are election intrigues, carelessness, neglect about trifles, dissimilarity of elements. 2.

The causes of revolutions; their general character; enumeration of them; including the love of gain and honour already mentioned, they are 7+4 in number.

[a] Omitting ἡ before τῶν ὀλίγων.

[b] Supra §§ 2, 3.

V. 3. What share insolence and avarice have in creating revolutions, and how they work, is plain enough. When the magistrates are insolent and grasping they conspire against one another and also against the constitution from which they derive their power, making their gains either at the expense of individuals or of the public. It is evident, again, what an influence honour exerts and how it is a cause of revolution. Men who are themselves dishonoured and who see others obtaining honours rise in rebellion; the honour or dishonour when undeserved is unjust; and just when awarded according to merit. Again, superiority is a cause of revolution when one or more persons have a power which is too much for the state and the power of the government; this is a condition of affairs out of which there arises a monarchy, or a family oligarchy. And, therefore, in some places, as at Athens and Argos, they have recourse to ostracism[a]. But how much better to provide from the first that there should be no such preeminent individuals instead of letting them come into existence and then finding a remedy.

(1, 2) Insolence and avarice;

(3) unequal distribution of honours;

(4) predominance of individuals;

Another cause of revolution is fear. Either men have committed wrong, and are afraid of punishment, or they are expecting to suffer wrong and are desirous of anticipating their enemy[b]. Thus at Rhodes the notables conspired against the people through fear of the suits that were brought against them. Contempt is also a cause of insurrection and revolution; for example, in oligarchies—when those who have no share in the state are the majority, they revolt, because they think that they are the stronger. Or, again, in democracies, the rich despise the disorder and anarchy of the state; at Thebes, for example, where, after the battle of Oenophyta, the bad administration of the democracy led to its ruin. At Megara the fall of the democracy was due to a defeat occasioned by disorder and anarchy. And at Syracuse the democracy was overthrown before the tyranny of Gelo arose; at Rhodes before the insurrection.

(5) fear;

(6) contempt;

[a] Cp. iii. 13. § 15.

[b] Cp. c. 5. § 2.

V. 3.

6 Political revolutions also spring from a disproportionate increase in any part of the state. For as a body is made up of many members, and every member ought to grow in proportion[a], that symmetry may be preserved; but loses its nature if the foot be four cubits long and the
303a. rest of the body two spans; and, should the abnormal increase be one of quality as well as of quantity, may even take the form of another animal: even so a state has many parts, of which some one may often grow imperceptibly; for example, the number of poor in democracies and in
7 constitutional states. And this disproportion may sometimes happen by an accident, as at Tarentum, from a defeat in which many of the notables were slain in a battle with the Iapygians just after the Persian War, the constitutional government in consequence becoming a democracy; or, as was the case at Argos, where, after the battle at Hebdomè, the Argives, having been cut to pieces by Cleomenes the Lacedaemonian, were compelled to admit to citizenship some of their perioeci; and at Athens, when, after frequent defeats of their infantry in the times of the Peloponnesian War, the notables were reduced in number, because the soldiers had to be taken from the roll of
8 citizens. Revolutions arise from this cause in democracies as well as in other forms of government, but not to so great an extent. When the rich[b] grow numerous or properties increase, the form of government changes into
9 an oligarchy or a government of families. Forms of government also change—sometimes even without revolution, owing to election contests, as at Heraea (where, instead of electing their magistrates, they took them by lot, because the electors were in the habit of choosing their own partisans); or owing to carelessness, when disloyal persons are allowed to find their way into the highest offices, as at Oreum, where, upon the accession of Heracleodorus to office, the oligarchy was overthrown, and changed by him into a constitutional and democratical government.

(7) disproportionate increase;

(8) election intrigues;

(9) carelessness;

[a] Cp. iii. c. 13. § 21.

[b] Reading *εὐπόρων*.

V. 3. Again, the revolution may be accomplished by small 10
(10) neglect of trifles; degrees; I mean that a great change may sometimes slip into the constitution through neglect of a small matter; at Ambracia, for instance, the qualification for office, small at first, was eventually reduced to nothing. For the Ambraciots thought that a small qualification was much the same as none at all.

(11) incompatible elements, differences, Another cause of revolution is (difference of races 11 which do not at once acquire a common spirit) for a state is not the growth of a day, neither is it a multitude brought together by accident. Hence the reception of

e.g. (a) of race, especially in colonies: strangers in colonies, either at the time of their foundation or afterwards, has generally produced revolution; for example, the Achaeans who joined the Troezenians in the foundation of Sybaris, being the more numerous, afterwards expelled them; hence the curse fell upon Sybaris. At Thurii the Sybarites quarrelled with their 12 fellow-colonists; thinking that the land belonged to them, they wanted too much of it and were driven out. At Byzantium the new colonists were detected in a conspiracy, and were expelled by force of arms; the people of Antissa, who had received the Chian exiles, fought with them, and drove them out; and the Zancleans, after having received the Samians, were driven by them out of their own city. The citizens of Apollonia on the Euxine, 13 after the introduction of a fresh body of colonists, had a revolution; the Syracusans, after the expulsion of their tyrants, having admitted strangers and mercenaries 1303 b. to the rights of citizenship, quarrelled and came to blows; the people of Amphipolis, having received Chalcidian colonists, were nearly all expelled by them.

Now, in oligarchies the masses make revolution under 14 the idea that they are unjustly treated, because, as I said before, they are equals, and have not an equal share, and in democracies the notables revolt, because they are not equals, and yet have only an equal share.

(b) of place; Again, the situation of cities is a cause of revolution 15 when the country is not naturally adapted to preserve

the unity of the state. For example, the Chytrians at Clazomenae did not agree with the people of the island; and the people of Colophon quarrelled with the Notians; at Athens, too, the inhabitants of the Piraeus are more democratic than those who live in the city. For just as in war, the impediment of a ditch, though ever so small, may break a regiment, so every cause of difference, however slight, makes a breach in a city. The greatest opposition is confessedly that of virtue and vice; next comes that of wealth and poverty; and there are other antagonistic elements, greater or less, of which one is this difference of place. V. 3. (*c*) of virtue and vice; (*d*) of wealth and poverty.

In revolutions the occasions may be trifling, but great interests are at stake. Trifles are most important when they concern the rulers, as was the case of old at Syracuse; for the Syracusan constitution was once changed by a love-quarrel of two young men, who were in the government. The story is that while one of them was away from home his beloved was gained over by his companion, and he to revenge himself seduced the other's wife. They then drew all the members of the ruling class into their quarrel and made a revolution. We learn from this story that we should be on our guard against the beginnings of such evils, and should put an end to the quarrels of chiefs and mighty men. The mistake lies in the beginning—as the proverb says—'Well begun is half done;' so an error at the beginning, though quite small, has the proportion of a half to the whole matter. In general, when the notables quarrel, the whole city is involved, as happened in Hestiaea after the Persian War. The occasion was the division of an inheritance; one of two brothers refused to give an account of their father's property and the treasure which he had found: so the poorer of the two quarrelled with him and enlisted in his cause the popular party, the other, who was very rich, the wealthy classes. 4. The occasions may be trifling, but 'hae nugae in seria ducunt.' Private quarrels have caused revolutions at Syracuse, Hestiaea,

At Delphi, again, a quarrel about a marriage was the beginning of all the troubles which followed. In this Delphi,

V. 4. case the bridegroom, fancying some occurrence to be of evil omen, came to the bride, and went away without taking her. Whereupon her relations, thinking that they were insulted by him, put some of the sacred treasure [among his offerings] while he was sacrificing, and then slew him, pretending that he had been robbing the

Mitylene, temple. At Mitylene, too, a dispute about heiresses 6 was the beginning of many misfortunes, and led to the war with the Athenians in which Paches took their city. A wealthy citizen, named Timophanes, left two daughters; Doxander, another citizen, wanted to obtain them for his sons; but he was rejected in his suit, whereupon he stirred up a revolution, and instigated the Athenians (of

Phocis, whom he was proxenus) to interfere. A similar quarrel 7 about an heiress arose at Phocis between Mnaseas the father of Mnason, and Euthycrates the father of Onomarchus; this was the beginning of the Sacred War.

Epidamnus. A marriage-quarrel was also the cause of a change in the government of Epidamnus. A certain man betrothed his daughter secretly to a person whose father, having been made a magistrate, fined the father of the girl, and the latter, stung by the insult, conspired with the unenfranchised classes to overthrow the state.

Revolutions occur when some section of the state unduly increases. Governments also change into oligarchy or into demo- 8 cracy or into a constitutional government (because the magistrates, or some other section of the state, increase in power or renown.) Thus at Athens the reputation gained by the court of the Areopagus, in the Persian

Illustrations from Athens, War, seemed to tighten the reins of government. On the other hand, the victory of Salamis[a], which was gained by the common people who served in the fleet, and won for the Athenians the empire of the sea, strengthened

Argos, the democracy. At Argos, the notables, having dis- 9 tinguished themselves against the Lacedaemonians in the battle of Mantinea, attempted to put down the demo-

Syracuse, cracy. At Syracuse, the people having been the chief authors of the victory in the war with the Athenians,

[a] Cp. ii. 12. § 5; viii. 6. § 11.

changed the constitutional government into democracy. V. 4.
At Chalcis, the people, uniting with the notables, killed Chalcis.
Phoxus the tyrant, and then seized the government. At
Ambracia[a], the people, in like manner, having joined Ambracia.
with the conspirators in expelling the tyrant Periander,
10 transferred the government to themselves. And generally, it should be remembered that those who have secured power to the state, whether private citizens, or magistrates, or tribes, or any other part or section of the state, are apt to cause revolutions. For either envy of their greatness draws others into rebellion, or they themselves, in their pride of superiority, are unwilling to remain on a level with others.

11 Revolutions break out when opposite parties, e.g. the Unstable equilibrium of parties.
1304b. rich and the poor, are equally balanced, and there is little or nothing between them; for, if either party were manifestly superior, the other would not risk an attack upon
12 them. And, for this reason, those who are eminent in virtue do not stir up insurrections, being always a minority. Such are the beginnings and causes of the disturbances and revolutions to which every form of government is liable.

Revolutions are effected in two ways, by force and by Revolutions are effected either by force or fraud.
fraud. Force may be applied either at the time of
13 making the revolution or afterwards. Fraud, again, is of two kinds; for (1) sometimes the citizens are deceived into a change of government, and afterwards they are held in subjection against their will. This was what happened in the case of the Four Hundred, who deceived the people by telling them that the king would provide money for the war against the Lacedaemonians, and when the deception was over, still endeavoured to retain the government. (2) In other cases the people are persuaded at first, and afterwards, by a repetition of the persuasion, their goodwill and allegiance are retained. The revolutions which affect constitutions generally spring from the above-mentioned causes[b].

[a] Cp. supra c. 3. § 10, and infra c. 10. § 16. [b] Cp. supra c. 2. § 1.

V. 5. And now, taking each constitution separately, we must see what follows from the principles already laid down.

Revolutions in democracies are caused by demagogues, as at

Revolutions in democracies are generally caused by the intemperance of demagogues, who either in their private capacity lay information against rich men until they compel them to combine (for a common danger unites even the bitterest enemies), or coming forward in public they stir up the people against them. The truth of this remark is proved by a variety of examples. At

Cos, Cos the democracy was overthrown because wicked demagogues arose, and the notables combined. At

Rhodes, Rhodes the demagogues not only provided pay for the multitude, but prevented them from making good to the trierarchs the sums which had been expended by them; and they, in consequence of the suits which were brought against them, were compelled to combine and

Heraclea, put down the democracy[a]. The democracy at Heraclea was overthrown shortly after the foundation of the colony by the injustice of the demagogues, which drove out the notables, who came back in a body and put an end to

Megara, the democracy. Much in the same manner the democracy at Megara[b] was overturned; there the demagogues drove out many of the notables in order that they might be able to confiscate their property. At length the exiles, becoming numerous, returned, and engaging and

Cyme. defeating the people, established an oligarchy. The same thing happened with the democracy of Cyme which was overthrown by Thrasymachus. And we may observe that in most states the changes have been of this character. For sometimes the demagogues, in order to curry favour with the people, wrong the notables and so force them to combine;—either they make a division of their property, or diminish their incomes by the imposition of public services, and sometimes they bring accusations against the rich that they may have their wealth to confiscate[c].

[a] Cp. supra c. 3. § 4. [b] Cp. c. 3. § 5, and iv. 15. § 15.
[c] Cp. infra c. 8. § 20.

V. 5. Demagogues old and new.

6 Of old, the demagogue was also a general, and then democracies changed into tyrannies. Most of the ancient
7 tyrants were originally demagogues[a]. They are not so now, but they were then; and the reason is that they were generals and not orators, for oratory had not yet come into fashion. Whereas in our day, when the art of rhetoric has made such progress, the orators lead the people, but their ignorance of military matters prevents them from usurping power; at any rate instances to the
8 contrary are few and slight. Formerly tyrannies were more common than they now are, because great power was often placed in the hands of individuals; thus a tyranny arose at Miletus out of the office of the Prytanis, who had supreme authority in many important matters[b]. Moreover, in those days, when cities were not large, the people dwelt in the fields, busy at their work; and their
9 chiefs, if they possessed any military talent, seized the opportunity, and winning the confidence of the masses by professing their hatred of the wealthy, they succeeded in obtaining the tyranny. Thus at Athens Peisistratus led a faction against the men of the plain[c], and Theagenes at Megara slaughtered the cattle of the wealthy, which he found by the river side where they
10 had put them to graze. Dionysius, again, was thought worthy of the tyranny because he denounced Daphnaeus and the rich; his enmity to the notables won for him the confidence of the people. Changes also take place from the ancient to the latest form of democracy; for where there is a popular election of the magistrates and no property qualification, the aspirants for office get hold of the people, and contrive at last even to set them above
11 the laws. A more or less complete cure for this state of things is for the separate tribes, and not the whole people, to elect the magistrates.

Of old, great magistrates became tyrants, as at Miletus;

military leaders, like Peisistratus, Theagenes,

Dionysius,

These are the principal causes of revolutions in democracies.

[a] Cp. c. 10. § 4; Plato Rep. viii. 565 D. [b] Cp. infra c. 10. § 5.
[c] See Herod. i. 59.

V. 6. There are two patent causes of revolutions in oligarchies [one coming from without, the other from within the government]: (1) First, when the oligarchs oppress the people, for then anybody is good enough to be their champion, especially if he be himself a member of the oligarchy, as Lygdamis at Naxos, who afterwards came to be tyrant. But revolutions which commence outside the governing class may be further subdivided. Sometimes, when the government is very exclusive, the revolution is brought about by persons of the wealthy class who are excluded, as happened at Massalia and Istros and Heraclea, and other cities. Those who had no share in the government created a disturbance, until first the elder brothers, and then the younger, were admitted; for in some places father and son, in others elder and younger brothers, do not hold office together. At Massalia the oligarchy became more like a constitutional government, but at Istros ended in a democracy, and at Heraclea was enlarged to 600. At Cnidos, again, the oligarchy underwent a considerable change. For the notables fell out among themselves, because only a few shared in the government; there existed among them the rule already mentioned, that father and son could not hold office together, and, if there were several brothers, only the eldest was admitted. The people took advantage of the quarrel, and choosing one of the notables to be their leader, attacked and conquered the oligarchs, who were divided, and division is always a source of weakness. The city of Erythrae, too, in old times was ruled, and ruled well, by the Basilidae, but the people took offence at the narrowness of the oligarchy and changed the government.

Revolutions in oligarchies arise (1) outside the governing class when they are (a) oppressive, (b) exclusive,

(2) Of internal causes of revolutions in oligarchies one is the personal rivalry of the oligarchs, which leads them to play the demagogue. Now, the oligarchical demagogue is of two sorts: either (1) he practises upon the oligarchs themselves (for, although the oligarchy are quite a small number, there may be a demagogue among them, as at

(2) within the governing class from several causes.

(a) Demagogues who practise either upon

Athens the party of Charicles predominated among the Thirty, that of Phrynichus in the Four Hundred); or (2) the oligarchs may play the demagogue with the people. This was the case at Larissa, where the guardians of the citizens endeavoured to gain over the people because they were elected by them; and such is the fate of all oligarchies in which the magistrates are elected, as at Abydos, not by the class to which they belong, but by the heavy-armed or by the people, although they may be required to have a high qualification, or to be mem-
7 bers of a political club; or, again, where the law-courts are independent of the government, the oligarchs flatter the people in order to obtain a decision in their own favour, and so they change the constitution; this happened at Heraclea in Pontus. Again, oligarchies change whenever any attempt is made to narrow them; for then those who desire equal rights are compelled to call in the
8 people. Changes in the oligarchy also occur when the oligarchs waste their private property by extravagant living; for then they want to innovate, and either try to
1306a. make themselves tyrants, or install some one else in the tyranny, as Hipparinus did Dionysius at Syracuse, and as at Amphipolis[a] a man named Cleotimus introduced Chalcidian colonists, and when they arrived, stirred them
9 up against the rich. For a like reason in Aegina the person who carried on the negotiation with Chares endeavoured to revolutionize the state. Sometimes a party among the oligarchs try to create a political change; sometimes they rob the treasury, and then, either the other oligarchs quarrel with the thieves, as happened at Apollonia in Pontus, or they with the other oligarchs. But an oligarchy which is at unity with itself is not easily
10 destroyed from within; of this we may see an example at Pharsalus, for there, although the rulers are few in number, they govern a large city, because they have a good understanding among themselves.

Oligarchies, again, are overthrown when another oli-

V. 6. the oligarchy or upon the people.

(b) Attempts to narrow the oligarchy.

(c) Extravagance of the rich.

(d) Faction.

[a] Cp. c. 3. § 13.

V. 6. garchy is created within the original one, that is to say, when the whole governing body is small and yet they do not all share in the highest offices. Thus at Elis the governing body was a small senate; and very few ever found their way into it, because, although in number ninety, the senators were elected for life and out of certain families in a manner similar to the Lacedaemonian elders.

Dangers from mercenaries; Oligarchy is liable to revolutions alike in war and in peace: 11
in war because, not being able to trust the people, the oligarchs are compelled to hire mercenaries, and the general who is in command of them often ends in becoming a tyrant, as Timophanes did at Corinth; or if there are more generals than one they make themselves into a company of tyrants[a]. Sometimes the oligarchs, fearing this danger, give the people a share in the government be-

from faction, which leaves the state at the mercy of the army; cause their services are necessary to them. And in time 13
of peace, from mutual distrust, the two parties hand over the defence of the state to the army and to an arbiter between the two factions who often ends the master of both. This happened at Larissa when Simos and the Aleuadae had the government, and at Abydos in the

from private quarrels; days of Iphiades and the political clubs. Revolutions 14
also arise out of marriages or lawsuits which lead to the overthrow of one party among the oligarchs by another. Of quarrels about marriages I have already mentioned[b] some instances; another occurred at Eretria, where Diagoras overturned the oligarchy of the knights because he had been wronged about a marriage. A revo- 15
lution at Heraclea, and another at Thebes, both arose out of decisions of law-courts upon a charge of adultery; in both cases the punishment was just, but executed in the spirit of party, at Heraclea upon Eurytion, and at Thebes 1306
upon Archias; for their enemies were jealous of them and

and excessive despotism. so had them pilloried in the agora. Many oligarchies 16
have been destroyed by some members of the ruling class taking offence at their excessive despotism; for example, the oligarchy at Cnidus and at Chios.

[a] *δυναστεία.* [b] Cp. c. 4. §§ 5-7.

No clear distinction between revolution & change

V. 6.

Changes of constitutional governments, and also of oligarchies which limit the office of counsellor, judge, or other magistrate to persons having a certain money qualification, often occur by accident. The qualification may have been originally fixed according to the circumstances of the time, in such a manner as to include in an oligarchy a few only, or in a constitutional government the middle class. But after a time of prosperity, whether arising from peace or some other good fortune, the same property becomes many times as large, and then everybody participates in every office; this happens sometimes gradually and insensibly, and sometimes quickly. These are the causes of changes and revolutions in oligarchies.

Accidental change of qualification.

We must remark generally, both of democracies and oligarchies, that they sometimes change, not into the opposite forms of government, but only into another variety of the same class; I mean to say, from those forms of democracy and oligarchy which are regulated by law into those which are arbitrary, and conversely.

Changes in states may be of degree as well as of kind.

7.

In aristocracies revolutions are stirred up when a few only share in the honours of the state; a cause which has been already shown to affect oligarchies; for an aristocracy is a sort of oligarchy, and, like an oligarchy, is the government of a few, although the few are the virtuous and not the wealthy; hence the two are often confounded. And revolutions will be most likely to happen, and must happen, when the majority of the people are high-spirited, and have a notion that they are as good as their rulers. Thus at Lacedaemon the so-called Partheniae, who were the [illegitimate] sons of the Spartan peers, attempted a revolution, and, being detected, were sent away to colonize Tarentum. Again, revolutions occur when great men who are at least of equal merit are dishonoured by those higher in office, as Lysander was by the kings of Sparta: or, when a brave man is excluded from the honours of the state, like Cinadon, who conspired against the Spartans under

Causes of revolution in aristocracies:

(1) jealousy,

(2) pride of a class,

(3) dishonour to high-spirited men,

V. 7. Agesilaus; or, again, when some are very poor and others very rich, a state of society which is most often the result of war, as at Lacedaemon in the days of the Messenian War; this is proved from the poem of Tyrtaeus, entitled 'Good Order;' for he speaks of certain citizens who were ruined by the war and wanted to have a redistribution of the land. Again, revolutions arise when an individual who is great, and might be greater, wants to rule alone, as at Lacedaemon, Pausanias, who was general in the Persian War, or like Hanno at Carthage.

(4) extremes of wealth and poverty,

(5) ambition of great men,

(6) when the elements of the state are ill-compounded.

Constitutional governments and aristocracies are commonly overthrown owing to some deviation from justice in the constitution itself; the cause of the downfall is, in the former, the ill-mingling of the two elements democracy and oligarchy; in the latter, of the three elements, democracy, oligarchy, and virtue, but especially democracy and oligarchy. For to combine these is the endeavour of constitutional governments; and most of the so-called aristocracies have a like aim[a], but differ from polities by the addition of virtue; hence some of them are more and some less permanent. Those which incline more to oligarchy are called aristocracies, and those which incline to democracy constitutional governments. And therefore the latter are the safer of the two; for the greater the number, the greater the strength, and when men are equal they are contented. But the rich, if the government gives them power, are apt to be insolent and avaricious; and, in general, whichever way the constitution inclines, in that direction it changes as either party gains strength, a constitutional government becoming a democracy, an aristocracy, an oligarchy. But the process may be reversed, and aristocracy may change into democracy. This happens when the poor, under the idea that they are being wronged, force the constitution to take an opposite form.

Constitutional governments safer than aristocracies, because they rest on a broader basis.

The change may be in either direction.

[a] Cp. iv. c. 7.

In like manner constitutional governments change into oligarchies. The only stable principle of government is equality according to proportion, and for every man to enjoy his own. V. 7.

9 What I have just mentioned actually happened at Thurii[a], where the qualification for office, though at first high, was reduced, and the magistrates increased in number. The notables had previously acquired the whole of the land contrary to law; for the government tended to oligarchy, and they were able to encroach. But the people, who had been trained by war, soon got the better of the guards kept by the oligarchs, until those who had too much gave up their land. Encroachments of the notables at Thurii;

10 Again, since all aristocratical governments incline to oligarchy, the notables are apt to be grasping; thus at Lacedaemon, where property has passed into few hands[b], the notables can do too much as they like, and are allowed to marry whom they please. The city of Locri was ruined by a marriage connexion with Dionysius, but such a thing could never have happened in a democracy, or in a well-balanced aristocracy. and at Lacedaemon.

11 I have already remarked that in all states revolutions
107 b. are occasioned by trifles[c]. In aristocracies, above all, they are of a gradual and imperceptible nature. The citizens begin by giving up some part of the constitution, and so with greater ease the government change something else which is a little more important, until they have under- Revolutions are occasioned by trifles and begin imperceptibly.

12 mined the whole fabric of the state. At Thurii there was a law that generals should only be re-elected after an interval of five years, and some high-spirited young men who were popular with the soldiers of the guard, despising the magistrates and thinking that they would easily gain their purpose, wanted to abolish this law and allow their generals to hold perpetual commands; for they well knew that the people would be glad enough to
13 elect them. Whereupon the magistrates who had charge Illustration from Thurii.

[a] Cp. c. 3. § 12. [b] Cp. ii. 9. § 14. [c] c. 4. § 1.

V. 7. of these matters, and who are called councillors, at first determined to resist, but they afterwards consented, thinking that, if only this one law was changed, no further inroad would be made on the constitution. But other changes soon followed which they in vain attempted to oppose; and the state passed into the hands of the revolutionists who established a dynastic oligarchy.

Revolutions caused by foreign interference.

All constitutions are overthrown either from within or 14
from without; the latter, when there is some government close at hand having an opposite interest, or at a distance, but powerful. This was exemplified in the old times of the Athenians and the Lacedaemonians; the Athenians everywhere put down the oligarchies, and the Lacedaemonians the democracies[a].

I have now explained what are the chief causes of revolutions and dissensions in states.

8. We have next to consider what means there are of preserving states in general, and also in particular cases.

Revolutions how to be avoided.

The knowledge of opposites is one.

In the first place it is evident that if we know the causes which destroy states, we shall also know the causes which preserve them; for opposites produce opposites, and destruction is the opposite of preservation[b].

In all well-attempered governments there is nothing 2
which should be more jealously maintained than the spirit of obedience to law, more especially in small matters; for transgression creeps in unperceived and at last ruins the state, just as the constant recurrence of small expenses in time eats up a fortune. The change 3
does not take place all at once, and therefore is not observed; the mind is deceived, as in the fallacy which says that 'if each part is little, then the whole is little.' And this is true in one way, but not in another, for the whole and the all are not little, although they are made up of littles.

The importance of small matters.

The statesman should watch the beginning of change,

In the first place, then, men should guard against the 4
beginning of change, and in the second place they should

[a] Cp. iv. c. 11. § 18. [b] Cp. Nic. Eth. v. 1. § 4.

1308 a. not rely upon the political devices of which I have already spoken[a], invented only to deceive the people, for they are proved by experience to be useless. Further we note that oligarchies as well as aristocracies may last, not from any inherent stability in such forms of government, but because the rulers are on good terms both with the unenfranchised and with the governing classes, not maltreating any who are excluded from the government, but introducing into it the leading spirits among them[b]. They should never wrong the ambitious in a matter of honour, or the common people in a matter of money; and they should treat one another and their

6 fellow-citizens in a spirit of equality. The equality which the friends of democracy seek to establish for the multitude is not only just but likewise expedient among equals. Hence, if the governing class are numerous, many democratic institutions are useful; for example, the restriction of the tenure of offices to six months, that all those who are of equal rank may share in them. Indeed, equals or peers when they are numerous become a kind of democracy, and therefore demagogues are very likely to arise among them, as I have already

7 remarked[c]. The short tenure of office prevents oligarchies and aristocracies from falling into the hands of families; it is not easy for a person to do any great harm when his tenure of office is short, whereas long possession begets tyranny in oligarchies and democracies. For the aspirants to tyranny are either the principal men of the state, who in democracies are demagogues and in oligarchies members of ruling houses, or those who hold great offices, and have a long tenure of them[d].

8 States are preserved when their destroyers are at a distance, and sometimes also because they are near, for the fear of them makes the government keep in hand the state. Wherefore the ruler who has a care of the state should invent terrors, and bring distant dangers near, in order

V. 8. beginnings of change and not trust to political tricks.

The people should be well treated.

Among equals there should be equality and therefore offices should be held by many persons for a short time only.

A common fear may unite a state.

[a] Cp. iv. 13. § 1.
[b] vi. 7. § 4.
[c] Supra c. 6. § 6.
[d] Cp. c. 5. § 6.

V. 8. that the citizens may be on their guard, and, like sentinels in a night-watch, never relax their attention. He should endeavour too by help of the laws to control the contentions and quarrels of the notables, and to prevent those who have not hitherto taken part in them from being drawn in. No ordinary man can discern the beginning of evil[a], but only the true statesman. 9

The quarrels of the notables are to be repressed.

The census should be periodically revised.

As to the change produced in oligarchies and constitutional governments[b] by the alteration of the qualification, when this arises, not out of any variation in the census but only out of the increase of money, it is well to compare the general valuation of property with that of past years, annually in those cities in which the census is taken annually, and in larger cities every third or fifth year. 1308 b. If the whole is many times greater or many times less than when the rates were fixed at the previous census, there should be power given by law to raise or lower the qualification as the amount is greater or less. Where in the absence of any such provision the standard is raised, a constitutional government passes into an oligarchy, and an oligarchy is narrowed to a rule of families; where the standard is lowered, constitutional government becomes democracy, and oligarchy either constitutional government or democracy. 10 11

No individual should be too powerful.

It is a principle common to democracy, oligarchy[c], and every other form of government not to allow the disproportionate increase of any citizen, but to give moderate honour for a long time rather than great honour for a short time. For men are easily spoilt; not every one can bear prosperity. But if this rule is not observed, at any rate the honours which are given all at once should be taken away by degrees and not all at once. Especially should the laws provide against any one having too much power, whether derived from friends or money; if he has, he and his followers should be sent out of the 12

[a] Cp. c. 4. §§ 1–3. [b] Cp. c. 3. § 8; c. 6. §§ 16–18.

[c] Or, adding καὶ μοναρχίᾳ, 'monarchy,' with many MSS. and Bekker's first edition.

13 country[a]. And since innovations creep in through the private life of individuals, there ought to be a magistracy which will have an eye to those whose life is not in harmony with the government, whether oligarchy or democracy or any other. And for a like reason an increase of prosperity in any part of the state should be 14 carefully watched. The proper remedy for this evil is always to give the management of affairs and offices of state to opposite elements; such opposites are the virtuous and the many, or the rich and the poor. Another way is to combine the poor and the rich in one body, or to increase the middle class: thus an end will be put to the revolutions which arise from inequality. V. 8.

Opposite elements should be combined and extremes avoided.

15 But above all every state should be so administered and so regulated by law that its magistrates cannot possibly make money[b]. In oligarchies special precautions 16 should be used against this evil. For the people do not take any great offence at being kept out of the government—indeed they are rather pleased than otherwise at having leisure for their private business—but what irritates them is to think that their rulers are stealing the public money; then they are doubly annoyed; for they 17 lose both honour and profit. If office brought no profit, then and then only could democracy and aristocracy be 1309a. combined; for both notables and people might have their wishes gratified. All would be able to hold office, which is the aim of democracy, and the notables would 18 be magistrates, which is the aim of aristocracy. And this result may be accomplished when there is no possibility of making money out of the offices; for the poor will not want to have them when there is nothing to be gained from them—they would rather be attending to their own concerns; and the rich, who do not want money from the public treasury, will be able to take them; and so the poor will keep to their work and grow rich, and the notables will not be governed by the lower 19 class. In order to avoid peculation of the public money,

Office should not be lucrative, especially in oligarchies.

An unpaid magistracy, to which all are eligible, the only way of combining aristocracy and democracy.

[a] Cp. c. 3. § 3; iii. 13. § 15. [b] Cp. c. 12. § 14.

V. 8. the transfer of the revenue should be made at a general assembly of the citizens, and duplicates of the accounts deposited with the different brotherhoods, companies, and tribes. And honours should be given by law to magistrates who have the reputation of being incorruptible. In democracies the rich should be spared; not only should their property not be divided, but their incomes also, which in some states are taken from them imperceptibly, should be protected. It is a good thing to prevent the wealthy citizens, even if they are willing, from undertaking expensive and useless public services, such as the giving of choruses, torch-races, and the like. In an oligarchy, on the other hand, great care should be taken of the poor, and lucrative offices should go to them; if any of the wealthy classes insult them, the offender should be punished more severely [a]than one of their own class for a like offence[a]. Provision should be made that estates pass by inheritance and not by gift, and no person should have more than one inheritance; for in this way properties will be equalised, and more of the poor rise to competency. It is also expedient both in a democracy and in an oligarchy to assign to those who have less share in the government (for example, to the rich in a democracy and to the poor in an oligarchy) an equality or preference in all but the principal offices of state. The latter should be entrusted chiefly or only to members of the governing class.

Financial corruption should be prevented.

In democracies the rich should be spared.

In oligarchies the poor.

Limitation of gift and of inheritance.

All but the highest offices should be open to those who have less share in the government.

9. There are three qualifications required in those who have to fill the highest offices,—(1) first of all, loyalty to the established constitution; (2) the greatest administrative capacity; (3) virtue and justice of the kind proper to each form of government; for, if what is just is not the same in all governments, the quality of justice must also differ. There may be a doubt however, when all these qualities do not meet in the same person, how the selection is to be made; suppose, for example, a good general

The qualifications for great offices.

The good general is not always the good man.

1309b.

[a] Or: 'than if he had wronged one of his own class.'

is a bad man and not a friend to the constitution, and another man is loyal and just, which should we choose? In making the election ought we not to consider two points? what qualities are common, and what are rare? V. 9.

3 Thus in the choice of a general, we should regard his skill rather than his virtue; for few have military skill, but many have virtue. In keeping watch or in any office of stewardship, on the other hand, the opposite rule should be observed; for more virtue than ordinary is required in the holder of such an office, but the necessary knowledge is of a sort which all men possess. When virtue and when skill is to be preferred.

4 It may, however, be asked what a man wants with virtue if he have political ability and is loyal, since these two qualities alone will make him do what is for the public interest. But may not men have both of them and yet be deficient in self-control? If, knowing and loving their own interests, they do not always attend to them, may they not be equally negligent of the interests of the public? Why virtue is needed.

5 Speaking generally, we may say that whatever legal enactments are held to be for the interest of states, all these preserve states. And the great preserving principle is the one which has been repeatedly mentioned[a],—to have a care that the loyal citizens should outnumber the disloyal. The loyal should outnumber the disloyal.

6 loyal. Neither should we forget the mean, which at the present day is lost sight of in perverted forms of government; for many practices which appear to be democratical are the ruin of democracies, and many which appear to be oligarchical are the ruin of oligarchies. The mean should be observed.

7 Those who think that all virtue is to be found in their own party principles push matters to extremes; they do not consider that disproportion destroys a state. A nose which varies from the ideal of straightness to a hook or snub may still be of good shape and agreeable to the eye; but if the excess be very great, all symmetry is lost, and the nose at last ceases to be a nose at all Proportion in states like proportion in the human form.

[a] Cp. iv. 12. § 1; vi. 6. § 2.

V. 9. on account of some excess in one direction or defect in the other; and this is true of every other part of the human body. The same law of proportion equally holds 8 in states. Oligarchy or democracy, although a departure from the most perfect form, may yet be a good enough government, but if any one attempts to push the principles of either to an extreme, he will begin by spoiling the government and end by having none at all. Wherefore the legislator and the statesman ought to 9 know what democratical measures save and what destroy a democracy, and what oligarchical measures save or destroy an oligarchy. For neither the one nor the other can exist or continue to exist unless both rich and poor are included in it. If equality of property is introduced, the state must of necessity take another form; 1310a for when by laws carried to excess one or other element in the state is ruined, the constitution is ruined.

Neither oligarchy nor democracy should be pushed to extremes.

There is an error common both to oligarchies and to 10 democracies:—in the latter the demagogues, when the multitude are above the law, are always cutting the city in two by quarrels with the rich, whereas they should always profess to be maintaining their cause; just as in oligarchies, the oligarchs should profess to maintain the cause of the people, and should take oaths the opposite of those which they now take. For there are cities in 11 which they swear—'I will be an enemy to the people, and will devise all the harm against them which I can;' but they ought to exhibit and to entertain the very opposite feeling; in the form of their oath there should be an express declaration—'I will do no wrong to the people.'

The oligarchical oath should be reversed.

But of all the things which I have mentioned that which most contributes to the permanence of constitutions is the adaptation of education to the form of government[a], and yet in our own day this principle is universally neglected. The best laws, though sanctioned by every citizen of the 12 state, will be of no avail unless the young are trained by

The young should be trained in 'the spirit of the constitution.'

[a] Cp. i. c. 13. § 15.

habit and education in the spirit of the constitution, if the laws are democratical, democratically, or oligarchically, if the laws are oligarchical. For there may be a want of self-discipline in states as well as in in-
13 dividuals. (Now, to have been educated in the spirit of the constitution is not to perform the actions in which oligarchs or democrats delight, but those by which the existence of an oligarchy or of a democracy is made possible.) Whereas among ourselves the sons of the ruling class in an oligarchy live in luxury[a], but the sons of the poor are hardened by exercise and toil, and hence they are both more inclined and better able to make a
14 revolution[b]. And in democracies of the more extreme type there has arisen a false idea of freedom which is contradictory to the true interests of the state. For two principles are characteristic of democracy, the govern-
15 ment of the majority and freedom. Men think that what is just is equal; and that equality is the supremacy of the popular will; and that freedom and equality mean the doing what a man likes. In such democracies every one lives as he pleases, or in the words of Euripides, 'according to his fancy.' But this is all wrong; men should not think it slavery to live according to the rule of the constitution; for it is their salvation.

V. 9.

What this phrase means.

Liberty is not licence.

I have now discussed generally the causes of the revolution and destruction of states, and the means of their preservation and continuance.

I have still to speak of monarchy, and the causes of its destruction and preservation. What I have said already
10b. respecting other forms of government applies almost
2 equally to royal and to tyrannical rule. For royal rule is of the nature of an aristocracy, and a tyranny is a compound of oligarchy and democracy in their most extreme forms; it is therefore most injurious to its subjects, being made up of two evil forms of government,
3 and having the perversions and errors of both. These two forms of monarchy differ in their very origin. The

10.

Royal and tyrannical rule, how differing.

[a] Cp. iv. 11. § 6. [b] Cp. Pl. Rep. viii. 556 D.

V. 10. appointment of a king is the resource of the better classes against the people, and he is elected by them out of their own number, because either he himself or his family excel in virtue and virtuous actions; whereas a tyrant is chosen from the people to be their protector against the notables, and in order to prevent them from being injured. History shows that almost all tyrants 4 have been demagogues who gained the favour of the people by their accusation of the notables[a]. At any rate 5 this was the manner in which the tyrannies arose in the days when cities had increased in power. Others which were older originated in the ambition of kings wanting to overstep the limits of their hereditary power and become despots. Others again grew out of the class which were chosen to be chief magistrates; for in ancient times the people who elected them gave the magistrates, whether civil or religious, a long tenure. Others arose out of the custom which oligarchies had of making some individual supreme over the highest offices. In any of 6 these[b] ways an ambitious man had no difficulty, if he desired, in creating a tyranny, since he had the power in his hands already, either as king or as one of the officers of state[c]. Thus Pheidon at Argos and several others were originally kings, and ended by becoming tyrants; Phalaris, on the other hand, and the Ionian tyrants, acquired the tyranny by holding great offices. Whereas Panaetius at Leontini, Cypselus at Corinth, Peisistratus at Athens, Dionysius at Syracuse, and several others who afterwards became tyrants, were at first demagogues.

Tyrannies established,

(1) by demagogues;

(2) by ambitious kings;

(3) by great magistrates;

Examples.

And so, as I was saying, royalty ranks with aristo- 7 cracy, for it is based upon merit, whether of the individual or of his family, or on benefits conferred[d], or on these claims with power added to them. For all who 8 have obtained this honour have benefitted, or had in

Royalty like aristocracy based on merit.

[a] Cp. c. 5. § 6; Plato Rep. 565 D.

[b] Retaining τούτοις, which is omitted in Bekker's second edition, apparently by mistake.

[c] Cp. c. 5. § 8.

[d] Cp. iii. 14. § 12.

their power to benefit, states and nations; some, like Codrus, have prevented the state from being enslaved in war; others, like Cyrus, have given their country freedom, or have settled or gained a territory, like the Lacedaemonian, Macedonian, and Molossian kings[a]. The idea of a king is to be a protector of the rich against unjust treatment, of the people against insult and oppression. Whereas a tyrant, as has often been repeated, has no regard to any public interest, but only to his private ends; his aim is pleasure, the aim of a king, honour. Wherefore also in their desires they differ; the tyrant is desirous of riches, the king, of what brings honour. And the guards of a king are citizens, but of a tyrant mercenaries[b]. V. 10.

1 That tyranny has all the vices both of democracy and oligarchy is evident. As of oligarchy so of tyranny, the end is wealth; (for by wealth only can the tyrant maintain either his guard or his luxury). Both mistrust the people, and therefore deprive them of their arms. Both agree too in injuring the people and driving them 2 out of the city and dispersing them. From democracy tyrants have borrowed the art of making war upon the notables and destroying them secretly or openly, or of exiling them because they are rivals and stand in the way of their power; and also because plots against them are contrived by men of this class, who either want to 13 rule or to escape subjection. Hence Periander advised Thrasybulus[c] to cut off the tops of the tallest ears of corn, meaning that he must always put out of the way the citizens who overtop the rest. And so, as I have already intimated, the beginnings of change are the same in monarchies as in other forms of government; subjects attack their sovereigns out of fear or contempt, or because they have been unjustly treated by them. And of injustice, the most common form is insult, another is confiscation of property.

Tyranny like oligarchy in the love of wealth, like democracy in hatred of the nobles.

Causes of conspiracies against monarchs.

14 The ends sought by conspiracies against monarchies,

[a] Cp. c. 11. § 2. [b] Cp. iii. 14. § 7. [c] Cp. iii. 13. § 16.

V. 10. whether tyrannies or royalties, are the same as the ends sought by conspiracies against other forms of government. Monarchs have great wealth and honour which are objects of desire to all mankind. The attacks are made sometimes against their lives, sometimes against the office; where the sense of insult is the motive, against their lives. Any sort of insult (and there are many) may stir up anger, and when men are angry, they commonly act out of revenge, and not from ambition. For example, the attempt made upon the Peisistratidae arose out of the public dishonour offered to the sister of Harmodius and the insult to himself. He attacked the tyrant for his sister's sake, and Aristogeiton joined in the attack for the sake of Harmodius. A conspiracy was also formed against Periander, the tyrant of Ambracia, because, when drinking with a favourite youth, he asked him whether by this time he was not with child by him. Philip, too, was attacked by Pausanias because he permitted him to be insulted by Attalus and his friends, and Amyntas the little, by Derdas, because he boasted of having enjoyed his youth. Evagoras of Cyprus, again, was slain by the eunuch to revenge an insult; for his wife had been carried off by Evagoras' son. Many conspiracies have originated in shameful attempts made by sovereigns on the persons of their subjects. Such was the attack of Crataeus upon Archelaus; he had always hated the connexion with him, and so, when Archelaus, having promised him one of his two daughters in marriage, did not give him either of them, but broke his word and married the elder to the king of Elymaea, when he was hard pressed in a war against Sirrhas and Arrhibaeus, and the younger to his own son Amyntas, under the idea that he would then be less likely to quarrel with the son of Cleopatra—Crataeus made this slight a pretext for attacking Archelaus, though even a less reason would have sufficed, for the real cause of the estrangement was the disgust which he felt at his connexion with the king. And from a like motive Hellano-

Sometimes the office is attacked, sometimes the life of the monarch.

The latter when insult has been offered, as by the Peisistratidae,

Periander,

Philip,

Amyntas,

Evagoras,

Archelaus,

15 16 1311 17 18

crates of Larissa conspired with him; for when Archelaus, who was his lover, did not fulfil his promise of restoring him to his country, he thought that the connexion between them had originated, not in affection, but in the wantonness of power. Parrhon, too, and Heracleides of Aenos, slew Cotys in order to avenge their father, and Adamas revolted from Cotys in revenge for the wanton outrage which he had committed in mutilating him when a child. V. 10. Cotys.

19 [a] Many, too, irritated at blows inflicted on the person which they deemed an insult, have either killed or attempted to kill officers of state and royal princes by whom they have been injured[a]. Thus, at Mitylene, Megacles and his friends attacked and slew the Penthalidae, as they were going about and striking people with clubs. At a later date Smerdis, who had been beaten and torn away from his wife by Penthilus, slew 20 him. In the conspiracy against Archelaus, Decamnichus stimulated the fury of the assassins and led the attack; he was enraged because Archelaus had delivered him to Euripides to be scourged; for the poet had been irritated at some remark made by Decamnichus on the foulness of his breath. Many other examples might be cited of murders and conspiracies which have arisen from similar causes. The Penthalidae. Penthilus. Archelaus.

21 Fear is another motive which has caused conspiracies as well in monarchies as in more popular forms of government. Thus Artapanes conspired against Xerxes and slew him, fearing that he would be accused of hanging Darius against his orders,—he being under the impression that Xerxes would forget what he had said in the middle of a meal, and that the offence would be forgiven. Other causes. Fear.

12a. 22 Another motive is contempt, as in the case of Sardanapalus, whom some one saw carding wool with his women, if the story-tellers say truly; and the tale may Contempt,

[a] Or: 'Many persons too, even of those connected with the government or the royal family,' taking τῶν περί, etc. with the subject.

V. 10. be true, if not of him, of some one else[a]. Dion attacked 23
the younger Dionysius because he despised him, and saw
that he was equally despised by his own subjects, and
that he was always drunk. Even the friends of a
tyrant will sometimes attack him out of contempt; for
the confidence which he reposes in them breeds con-
tempt, and they think that they will not be found out.

including expectation of success.

The expectation of success is likewise a sort of contempt; 24
the assailants are ready to strike, and think nothing of
the danger, because they seem to have the power in their
hands. Thus generals of armies attack monarchs; as,
for example, Cyrus attacked Astyages, despising the
effeminacy of his life, and believing that his power was
worn out. Thus, again, Seuthes the Thracian conspired
against Amadocus, whose general he was.

Mixed motives.

And sometimes men are actuated by more than one 25
motive, like Mithridates, who conspired against Ariobar-
zanes, partly out of contempt and partly from the love of
gain.

Bold natures, placed by their sovereigns in a high military position, are most likely to make the attempt in the expectation of success; for courage is emboldened by power, and the union of the two inspires them with the hope of an easy victory.

The glory of tyrannicide.

Attempts of which the motive is ambition arise from
other causes. There are men who will not risk their 26
lives in the hope of gains and rewards however great, but
who nevertheless regard the killing of a tyrant simply as
an extraordinary action which will make them famous
and honourable in the world; they wish to acquire, not
a kingdom, but a name. It is rare, however, to find such 27
men; he who would kill a tyrant must be prepared to
lose his life if he fail. He must have the resolution of 28
Dion, who, when he made war upon Dionysius, took with
him very few troops, saying 'that whatever measure of
success he might attain would be enough for him, even if
he were to die the moment he landed; such a death

[a] Cp. i. 11. § 8.

would be welcome to him.' But this is a temper to which few can attain. V. 10.

Tyrannies destroyed from without by some opposite form of government;

Once more, tyrannies, like all other governments, are destroyed from without by some opposite and more powerful form of government. That such a government will have the will to attack them is clear; for the two are opposed in principle; and all men, if they can, do what they will. Democracy is antagonistic to tyranny, on the principle of Hesiod, 'Potter hates Potter,' because they are nearly akin, for the extreme form of democracy is tyranny; and royalty and aristocracy are both alike opposed to tyranny, because they are constitutions of a different type. And therefore the Lacedaemonians put down most of the tyrannies, and so did the Syracusans during the time when they were well-governed.

and from within.

31 Again, tyrannies are destroyed from within, when the reigning family are divided among themselves, as that of Gelo was, and more recently that of Dionysius; in the case of Gelo because Thrasybulus, the brother of Hiero, flattered the son of Gelo and led him into excesses in order that he might rule in his name. Whereupon the family conspired to get rid of Thrasybulus and save the tyranny; but the party who conspired[a] with them seized
32 the opportunity and drove them all out. In the case of Dionysius, Dion, his own relative, attacked and expelled him with the assistance of the people; he afterwards perished himself.

Chiefly through hatred and contempt, hatred including anger.

There are two chief motives which induce men to attack tyrannies — hatred and contempt. Hatred of tyrants is inevitable, and contempt is also a frequent
33 cause of their destruction. Thus we see that most of those who have acquired, have retained their power, but those who have inherited[b], have lost it, almost at once; for living in luxurious ease, they have become contemptible, and offer many opportunities to their assailants. Anger, too, must be included under hatred,

[a] Omitting *κατ'* inserted by Bekker in 2nd ed.
[b] Cp. Plato Laws, iii. 695.

V. 10. and produces the same effects. It is oftentimes even 34
more ready to strike—the angry are more impetuous
in making an attack, for they do not listen to reason.
And men are very apt to give way to their passions
when they are insulted. To this cause is to be attributed
the fall of the Peisistratidae and of many others. Hatred 35
is more reasonable, but anger is accompanied by pain,
which is an impediment to reason, whereas hatred is
painless[a].

In a word, all the causes which I have mentioned as destroying the last and most unmixed form of oligarchy, and the extreme form of democracy, may be assumed to affect tyranny; indeed the extreme forms of both are only tyrannies distributed among several persons. Kingly 36
Royalty, generally lasting, but may be destroyed from within.
rule is little affected by external causes, and is, therefore, lasting; it is generally destroyed from within. And there are two ways in which the destruction may come about; (1) when the members of the royal family quarrel 1313a
among themselves, and (2) when the kings attempt to administer the state too much after the fashion of a tyranny, and to extend their authority contrary to the law. 37
There are now no royalties; monarchies, where they exist, are[b] tyrannies. For the rule of a king is over voluntary subjects, and he is supreme in all important matters; but in our own day men are more upon an equality, and
Decline of kingly rule in Hellas.
no one is so immeasurably superior to others as to represent adequately the greatness and dignity of the office. Hence mankind will not, if they can help, endure it, and any one who obtains power by force or fraud is at once
Danger of hereditary monarchy.
thought to be a tyrant. In hereditary monarchies a 38
further cause of destruction is the fact that kings often fall into contempt, and, although possessing not tyrannical but only royal power, are apt to outrage others. Their overthrow is then readily effected; for there is an end to the king when his subjects do not want to have him, but the tyrant lasts, whether they like him or not.

[a] Cp. Rhetoric, ii. 4. § 31.
[b] Omitting καί with Bekker's 2nd ed.

The destruction of monarchies is to be attributed to these and the like causes. V. 10.

And they are preserved, to speak generally, by the opposite causes; or, if we consider them separately, 11.
(1) royalty is preserved by the limitation of its powers. The more restricted the functions of kings, the longer their power will last unimpaired; for then they are more moderate and not so despotic in their ways; and they
2 are less envied by their subjects. This is the reason why the kingly office has lasted so long among the Molossians. And for a similar reason it has continued among the Lacedaemonians, because there it was always divided between two, and afterwards further limited by Theopompus in various respects, more particularly by the establishment of the Ephoralty. He diminished the power of the kings, but established on a more lasting basis the kingly office, which was thus made in a certain
3 sense not less, but greater. There is a story that when his wife once asked him whether he was not ashamed to leave to his sons a royal power which was less than he had inherited from his father, 'No indeed,' he replied, 'for the power which I leave to them will be more lasting.'

Royalty preserved by limitation,

as at Lacedaemon.

Story of Theopompus.

4 As to (2) tyrannies, they are preserved in two most opposite ways. One of them is the old traditional method in which most tyrants administer their government. Of such arts Periander of Corinth is said to have been the great master, and many similar devices may be gathered from the Persians in the administration of their
5 government. There are also the ancient prescriptions for the preservation of a tyranny, in so far as this is possible; viz. that the tyrant should lop off those who are too high; he must put to death men of spirit; he must not allow
13b. common meals, clubs, education, and the like; he must be upon his guard against anything which is likely to inspire either courage or confidence among his subjects; he must prohibit literary assemblies or other meetings for discussion, and he must take every means to prevent people from knowing one another (for acquaintance

Tyrannies preserved, by arts such as those of Periander and of the Persians.

Men of spirit should be cut off;

confidence destroyed;

V. 11. begets mutual confidence). Further he must compel the 6
publicity of life enforced. inhabitants to appear in public and live [a] at his gates [a]; then he will know what they are doing: if they are always kept under, they will learn to be humble. In short he should practise these and the like Persian and barbaric arts which all have the same object. A tyrant
The people should be terrified by informers, should also endeavour to know what each of his subjects says or does, and should employ spies, like the 'female detectives' at Syracuse, and the eavesdroppers whom Hiero was in the habit of sending to any place of resort or meeting; for the fear of informers prevents people from speaking their minds, and if they do, they are more easily found out. Another art of the tyrant is to sow 8
weakened by quarrels among themselves, quarrels among the citizens; friends should be embroiled with friends, the people with the notables, and the rich with one another. Also he should impoverish his subjects; he thus provides money for the support of his guards [b], 9
oppressed by great works, and the people, having to keep hard at work, are prevented from conspiring. The Pyramids of Egypt afford an example of this policy; also the offerings of the family of Cypselus, and the building of the temple of Olympian Zeus by the Peisistratidae, and the great Polycratean monuments at Samos; all these works were alike intended to occupy the people and keep them poor. Another 10
heavy taxes, practice of tyrants is to multiply taxes, after the manner of Dionysius at Syracuse, who contrived that within five years his subjects should bring into the treasury their
wars. whole property. The tyrant is also fond of making war in order that his subjects may have something to do and be always in want of a leader. And whereas the power of a king is preserved by his friends, the characteristic of a tyrant is to distrust his friends, because he knows that all men want to overthrow him, and they above all have the power [c].

[a] Or, 'at their doors.'

[b] Reading ἢ τε with Bekker's 2nd ed.

[c] This, which is probably the meaning of the passage, cannot be elicited from the text as it stands. The addition is required of

1 Again, the evil practices of the last and worst form of democracy are all found in tyrannies. Such are the power given to women in their families in the hope that they will inform against their husbands, and the licence which is allowed to slaves in order that they may betray their masters; for slaves and women do not conspire against tyrants; and they are of course friendly to tyrannies and also to democracies, since under them they have a good time. For the people too would fain 12 be a monarch, and therefore by them, as well as by the tyrant, the flatterer is held in honour; in democracies he is the demagogue; and the tyrant also has his humble 12a. companions who flatter him. V. 11. Licence allowed by tyranny and by extreme democracy to women and slaves.

Hence tyrants are always fond of bad men, because they love to be flattered, but no man who has the spirit of a freeman in him will demean himself by flattery; good men love others, but they do not flatter anybody. 13 Moreover the bad are useful for bad purposes; 'nail knocks out nail,' as the proverb says. It is characteristic of a tyrant to dislike every one who has dignity or independence; he wants to be alone in his glory, but any one who claims a like dignity or asserts his independence encroaches upon his prerogative, and is hated by him as 14 an enemy to his power. Another mark of a tyrant is that he likes foreigners better than citizens, and lives with them and invites them to his table; for the one are enemies, but the others enter into no rivalry with him. The tyrant loves flatterers; dislikes men of independent spirit; favours foreigners.

Such are the notes of the tyrant and the arts by which he preserves his power; there is no wickedness too great for him. All that we have said may be summed up under three heads, which answer to the 15 three aims of the tyrant. These are, (1) the humiliation of his subjects; he knows that a mean-spirited man will not conspire against anybody: (2) the creation of mistrust among them; for a tyrant is not overthrown until men begin to have confidence in one another; and this Summary. The three aims of the tyrant.

some such phrase as *αὐτὸν καθελεῖν*, which is not wholly without manuscript authority.

V. 11. is the reason why tyrants are at war with the good; they are under the idea that their power is endangered by them, not only because they will not be ruled despotically, but also because they are loyal to one another, and to other men, and do not inform against one another or against other men: (3) the tyrant de- 16
sires that his subjects shall be incapable of action, for no one attempts what is impossible, and they will not attempt to overthrow a tyranny, if they are powerless. Under these three heads the whole policy of a tyrant may be summed up, and to one or other of them all his ideas may be referred: (1) he sows distrust among his subjects; (2) he takes away their power; (3) he humbles them.

Tyranny may also be preserved in an opposite way.

This then is one of the two methods by which tyrannies 17
are preserved; and there is another which proceeds upon a different principle of action. The nature of this latter 18
method may be gathered from a comparison of the causes which destroy kingdoms, for as one mode of destroying kingly power is to make the office of king more tyrannical, so the salvation of a tyranny is to make it more like the rule of a king. But of one thing the tyrant must be careful; he must keep power enough to rule over his subjects, whether they like him or not, for if he once gives this up he gives up his tyranny. But though power must 19
be retained as the foundation, in all else the tyrant should act or appear to act in the character of a king. In the first place he should pretend a care of the public 1314 b.
revenues, and not waste money in making presents of a sort at which the common people get excited when they see their miserable earnings taken from them and lavished on courtezans and strangers and artists. He should give an account of what he receives and of what he spends (a practice which has been adopted by some tyrants); for then he will seem to be the manager of a household rather than a tyrant; nor need he fear that, while he is 20
the lord of the city, he will ever be in want of money. Such a policy is much more advantageous for the tyrant

The tyrant should be like a king, but he must preserve his power.

He should save the public money;

keep accounts;

when he goes from home, than to leave behind him a hoard, for then the garrison who remain in the city will be less likely to attack his power; and a tyrant, when he is absent from home, has more reason to fear the guardians of his treasure than the citizens, for the one V. 11.

21 accompany him, but the others remain behind. In the second place, he should appear to collect taxes and to require public services only for state purposes, and that he may form a fund in case of war, he ought to make himself the guardian and treasurer of them, as if they belonged, not to him, but to the public. He should appear, not harsh, but dignified, and when men meet him they should look upon him with reverence, and not

he should levy taxes only for state purposes;

22 with fear. Yet it is hard for him to be respected if he inspires no respect, and therefore whatever virtues he may neglect, at least he should maintain the character of a statesman, and produce the impression that he is one. Neither he nor any of his associates should ever be guilty of the least offence against modesty towards

he should assume the character of a statesman even if he has it not;

23 the young of either sex who are his subjects, and the women of his family should observe a like self-control towards other women; the insolence of women has ruined many tyrannies. In the indulgence of pleasures he should be the opposite of our modern tyrants, who not only begin at dawn and pass whole days in sensuality, but want other men to see them, that they may admire their

should avoid immodesty and sensuality, and keep up appearances,

24 happy and blessed lot. In these things a tyrant should be especially moderate, or at any rate should not parade his vices to the world; for a drunken and drowsy tyrant is soon despised and attacked; not so he who is temperate and wide awake. His conduct should be the very reverse of nearly everything which has been said before about tyrants. He ought to adorn and improve his city, as though he were not a tyrant, but the guardian of the

should adorn the city,

25 state. Also he should appear to be particularly earnest

315a. in the service of the Gods; for if men think that a ruler is religious and has a reverence for the Gods, they are less afraid of suffering injustice at his hands, and they are less

reverence the Gods,

V. 11. disposed to conspire against him, because they believe him to have the very Gods fighting on his side. At the same time his religion must not be thought foolish. And 26

honour men of merit,

he should honour men of merit, and make them think that they would not be held in more honour by the citizens if they had a free government. The honour he should distribute himself, but the punishment should be inflicted by officers and courts of law. It is a precaution 27

but not make any one man great.

which is taken by all monarchs not to make one person great; but if one, then two or more should be raised, that they may look sharply after one another. If after all some one has to be made great, he should not be a man of bold spirit; for such dispositions are ever most inclined to strike. And if any one is to be deprived of his power, let it be diminished gradually, not taken from him all at once[a]. The tyrant should abstain from all outrage; in 28

He should be modest, considerate, lenient, affectionate.

particular from personal violence and from wanton conduct towards the young. He should be especially careful of his behaviour to men who are lovers of honour; for as the lovers of money are offended when their property is touched, so are the lovers of honour and the virtuous when their honour is affected. Therefore a tyrant ought 29 either not to use force at all; or he should be thought only to employ fatherly correction, and not to trample upon others,—and his acquaintance with youth should be supposed to arise from affection, and not from the insolence of power, and in general he should compensate the appearance of dishonour by the increase of honour.

He should guard against the desperate assassin.

Of those who attempt assassination they are the most 30 dangerous, and require to be most carefully watched who do not care to survive, if they effect their purpose. Therefore special precaution should be taken about any 31 who think that either they or their relatives have been insulted; for when men are led away by passion to assault others they are regardless of themselves. As

[a] Cp. c. 8. § 12.

Heracleitus says, 'It is difficult to fight against anger; for a man will buy revenge with life[a].' V. 11.

32a And whereas states consist of two classes, of poor men and of rich, the tyrant should lead both to imagine that they are preserved and prevented from harming one another by his rule, and whichever of the two is stronger he should attach to his government; for, having this advantage, he has no need either to emancipate slaves or to disarm the citizens; either party added to the force which he already has, will make him stronger than his assailants. He should conciliate the poor or the rich, whichever is the stronger party.

33 But enough of these details;—what should be the general policy of the tyrant is obvious. He ought to show himself to his subjects in the light, not of a tyrant, 15b. but of the master of a household and of a king. He should not appropriate what is theirs, but should be their guardian; he should be moderate, not extravagant in his way of life; he should be the companion of the notables, 34 and the hero of the multitude. For then his rule will of necessity be nobler and happier, because he will rule over better men[b] whose spirits are not crushed, over men to whom he himself is not an object of hatred, and of whom he is not afraid. His power too will be more lasting. Let his disposition be virtuous, or at least half virtuous; and if he must be wicked, let him be half wicked only. 'The father of his people.'

Yet no forms of government are so short-lived as oligarchy and tyranny. The tyranny which lasted longest was that of Orthagoras and his sons at Sicyon; this continued for a hundred years. The reason was that they treated their subjects with moderation, and to a great extent observed the laws; and in various ways gained the favour of the people by the care which they took of them. Cleisthenes, in particular, was respected 2 for his military ability. If report may be believed, he crowned the judge who decided against him in the games; 12. Tyrannies short-lived, except (1) that of Orthagoras and his sons;

[a] Fragm. 69 (ed. Mullach). [b] Cp. i. 5. § 2.

V. 12. and, as some say, the sitting statue in the Agora of Sicyon is the likeness of this person. (A similar story is told of Peisistratus, who is said on one occasion to have allowed himself to be summoned and tried before the Areopagus.)

(2) of the Cypselidae; Next in duration to the tyranny of Orthagoras was 3 that of the Cypselidae at Corinth, which lasted seventy-three years and six months: Cypselus reigned thirty years, Periander forty-four, and Psammetichus the son of Gordius three. Their continuance was due to similar 4 causes: Cypselus was a popular man, who during the whole time of his rule never had a body-guard; and Periander, although he was a tyrant, was a great soldier.

(3) of the Peisistratidae; Third in duration was the rule of the Peisistratidae at 5 Athens, but it was interrupted; for Peisistratus was twice driven out, so that during three and thirty years he reigned only seventeen; and his sons reigned eighteen —altogether thirty-five years. Of other tyrannies, that

(4) of Hiero and Gelo. of Hiero and Gelo at Syracuse was the most lasting. Even this, however, was short, not more than eighteen 6 years in all; for Gelo continued tyrant for seven years, and died in the eighth; Hiero reigned for ten years, and Thrasybulus was driven out in the eleventh month. In fact, tyrannies generally have been of quite short duration.

I have now gone through all the causes by which 7 constitutional governments and monarchies are either 1311 destroyed or preserved.

Plato's treatment of revolutions criticized. In the Republic of Plato[a], Socrates treats of revolutions, but not well, for he mentions no cause of change which peculiarly affects the first or perfect state. He only 8

(1) The number of the state will not explain the first decline; says that nothing is abiding, but that all things change in a certain cycle; and that the origin of the change is a base of numbers which are in the ratio of four to three, and this when combined with a figure of five gives two harmonies,—(he means when the number of this figure becomes solid); he conceives that nature will then pro-

[a] Rep. viii. 546.

duce bad men who will not submit to education; in which latter particular he may very likely be not far wrong, for there may well be some men who cannot be 9 educated and made virtuous. But why is such a cause of change peculiar to his ideal state, and not rather common to all states, nay, to everything which comes into being at all? [a] Or how is the state specially changed by the agency of time, which, as he declares, makes all things change? And things which did not begin together, change together[a], for example, if something has come into being the day before the completion of the cycle, it will change 10 with it. Further, why should the perfect state change into the Spartan? For governments more often take an opposite form than one akin to them. The same remark is applicable to the other changes; he says that the Spartan constitution changes into an oligarchy, and this 11 into a democracy, and this again into a tyranny. And yet the contrary happens quite as often; for a democracy is even more likely to change into an oligarchy than into a monarchy. Further, he never says whether tyranny is, or is not, liable to revolutions, and if it is, what is the cause of them, or into what form it changes. And the reason is, that he could not very well have told: for there is no rule; according to him it should revert to the first and best, and then there would be a complete cycle. 12 But in point of fact a tyranny often changes into a tyranny, as that at Sicyon changed from the tyranny of Myron into that of Cleisthenes; into oligarchy, as the tyranny of Antileon did at Chalcis; into democracy, as that of Gelo did at Syracuse; into aristocracy, as at Carthage, and the tyranny of Charilaus at Lacedaemon. 13 Often an oligarchy changes into a tyranny, like most

V. 12.

(2) Why is this decline peculiar to the ideal state?

(3) Why should time be a special cause?

(4) What is the principle of his cycle?

(5) What form succeeds tyranny? The perfect state?

Nay, but this is refuted by facts.

[a] Placing a note of interrogation after *μεταβάλλειν*. Or: 'And in the period of time which, as he says, makes all things change, things which did not begin together change together.'

Bekker in his 2nd edition has altered the reading of the MSS. *διά τε τοῦ χρόνου* to *διά γε τὸν χρόνον*. The rendering of the text agrees with either reading; that of the note with the reading of the MSS. only.

V. 12. of the ancient oligarchies in Sicily; for example, the oligarchy at Leontini changed into the tyranny of Panaetius; that at Gela into the tyranny of Cleander; that at Rhegium into the tyranny of Anaxilaus; the same thing has happened in many other states. And 14
it is absurd to suppose that the state changes into
(6) Plato misunderstands the causes of the change into oligarchy, oligarchy merely because, [as Plato says[a],] the ruling class are lovers and makers of money, and not because 1316b.
the very rich think it unfair that the very poor should have an equal share in the government with themselves. Moreover in many oligarchies there are laws against making money in trade. But at Carthage, which is a democracy, there is no such prohibition; and yet to this day the Carthaginians have never had a revolution. It 15
is absurd too for him to say that an oligarchy is two cities, one of the rich, and the other of the poor[b]. Is
(7) which, in consisting of rich and poor, good and bad, is only like other states. not this just as much the case in the Spartan constitution, or in any other in which either all do not possess equal property, or in which all are not equally good men? Nobody need be any poorer than he was 16
before, and yet the oligarchy may change all the same into a democracy, if the poor form the majority; and a democracy may change into an oligarchy, if the wealthy class are stronger than the people, and the one are energetic, the other indifferent. Once more, although 17
(8) Out of many causes of revolutions he mentions one only, the causes of revolutions are very numerous, he mentions only one[c], which is, that the citizens become poor through dissipation and debt, as though he thought that all, or the majority of them, were originally rich. This is not true: though it is true that when any of the leaders lose their property they are ripe for revolution; but, when anybody else, it is no great matter. And an oligarchy 18
does not more often pass into a democracy than into any other form of government. Again, if men are deprived of the honours of state, and are wronged, and insulted,

[a] Rep. viii. 550 E.

[b] Rep. viii. 551 D.

[c] Rep. viii. 555 D.

they make revolutions, and change forms of government, V. 12.
even although they have not wasted their substance because they might do what they liked—of which extravagance he declares excessive freedom to be the cause[a].

Finally, although there are many forms of oligarchies and democracies, Socrates speaks of their revolutions as though there were only one form of either of them. (9) and he does not recognize the different forms either of oligarchies or of democracies.

[a] Rep. viii. 564.

BOOK VI.

VI. 1. Subjects already discussed.

WE have now considered the varieties of the deliberative or supreme power in states, and the various arrangements of law-courts and state offices, and which of them are adapted to different forms of government [a]. We have also spoken of the destruction and preservation of states, how and from what causes they arise [b].

How the several kinds of government are constructed.

Of democracy and all other forms of government there 2
are many kinds; and it will be well to assign to them severally the modes of organization which are proper and advantageous to each, adding what remains to be said about them. Moreover, we ought to consider the various 3 1317 a
combinations of these modes themselves [c]; for such combinations make constitutions overlap one another, so that aristocracies have an oligarchical character, and constitutional governments incline to democracies [d].

Various combinations.

When I speak of the combinations which remain to be 4
considered, and thus far have not been considered by us, I mean such as these:—when the deliberative part of the government and the election of officers is constituted oligarchically, and the law-courts aristocratically, or when the courts and the deliberative part of the state are oligarchical, and the election to offices aristocratical, or when in any other way there is a want of harmony in the composition of a state.

I have shown already what forms of democracy are 5
suited to particular cities, and what of oligarchy to particular peoples, and to whom each of the other forms of government is suited. Further, we must not only 6
show which of these governments is the best for each

[a] Bk. iv. 14–16.
[b] Bk. v.
[c] Cp. Bk. iv. 7–9.
[d] Cp. iv. 8. § 3.

state, but also briefly proceed to consider[a] how these and other forms of government are to be established. VI. 1.

First of all let us speak of democracy, which will also bring to light the opposite form of government commonly
7 called oligarchy. For the purposes of this enquiry we need to ascertain all the elements and characteristics of democracy, since from the combinations of these the varieties of democratic government arise. There are
8 several of these differing from each other, and the difference is due to two causes. One (1) has been already mentioned[b],—differences of population; for the popular element may consist of husbandmen, or of mechanics, or of labourers, and if the first of these be added to the second, or the third to the two others, not only does the democracy become better or worse, but its very nature
9 is changed. A second cause (2) remains to be mentioned the various properties and characteristics of democracy when variously combined, make a difference. For one democracy will have less and another will have more, and another will have all of these characteristics. There is an advantage in knowing them all, whether a man wishes to establish some new form of democracy, or only to re-
10 model an existing one[c]. Founders of states try to bring together all the elements which accord with the ideas of the several constitutions; but this is a mistake of theirs, as I have already remarked[d] when speaking of the destruction and preservation of states. We will now set forth the principles, characteristics, and aims of such states.

The varieties of democracy depend on

(1) differences of population;

(2) different combinations of the democratic elements.

2.

1317 b. The basis of a democratic state is liberty; which, according to the common opinion of men, can only be enjoyed in such a state;—this they affirm to be the great end of every democracy[e]. One principle of liberty
2 is for all to rule and be ruled in turn, and indeed democratic justice is the application of numerical not proportionate equality; whence it follows that the majority

Liberty, the great end of democracy, means (1) numerical equality;

[a] Cp. iv. 2. § 5. [b] Cp. iv. 4. § 21. [c] Cp. iv. 1. § 7.
[d] v. 9. § 7. [e] Cp. Plato Rep. viii. 557 foll.

VI. 2. must be supreme, and that whatever the majority approve must be the end and the just. Every citizen, it is said, must have equality, and therefore in a democracy the poor have more power than the rich, because there are more of them, and the will of the majority is supreme. 3 This, then, is one note of liberty which all democrats affirm to be the principle of their state. Another is that (2) absence of control. a man should live as he likes[a]. This, they say, is the privilege of a freeman, and, on the other hand, not to live as a man likes is the mark of a slave. This is the second 4 characteristic of democracy, whence has arisen the claim of men to be ruled by none, if possible, or, if this is impossible, to rule and be ruled in turns; and so it coincides with the freedom based upon equality [which was the first characteristic].

[b] Such being our foundation and such the nature of de- 5 Characteristics of democracy. mocracy, its characteristics are as follows[b]:—the election of officers by all out of all; and that all should rule over each, and each in his turn over all; that the appointment All out of all, all over each, each in turn over all, in person or by deputy. to all offices, or to all but those which require experience and skill[c], should be made by lot; that no property qualification should be required for offices, or only a very low one; that no one should hold the same office twice, or not often, except in the case of military offices; that the tenure of all offices, or of as many as possible, should be brief; that all men should sit in judgment, or that judges selected out of all should judge in all matters, or in most, or in the greatest and most important,—such as the scrutiny of accounts, the constitution, and private contracts; that the assembly should be supreme over all causes, or at any rate over the most important, and the magistrates over none or only over a very few[d]. Of all institutions, a council is the most democratic[e] 6

[a] Cp. v. 9. § 15.

[b] Or (taking ἀρχή in the sense of 'beginning'), 'Such being our foundation, and such being the principle from which we start, the characteristics of democracy are as follows:'

[c] Cp. iv. 14. § 6. [d] See note. [e] Cp. iv. 15. § 11.

when there is not the means of paying all the citizens, VI. 2
but when they are paid even this is robbed of its power;
for the people then draw all cases to themselves, as I said
7 in the previous discussion[a]. The next characteristic of
democracy is payment for services; assembly, law-courts, Pay.
magistrates, everybody receives pay, when it is to be had;
or, when it is not to be had for all, then it is given to the
law-courts and to the stated assemblies, to the council
and to the magistrates, or at least to any of them who
are compelled to have their meals together. And
whereas oligarchy is characterised by birth, wealth, and
education, the notes of democracy appear to be the
8 opposite of these,—low birth, poverty, mean employment.
Another note is that no magistracy is perpetual, but Vestiges of antiquity in a democracy.
1318 a. if any such have survived some ancient change in the
constitution it should be stripped of its power, and the
9 holders should be elected by lot and no longer by vote. Lot.
These are points common to all democracies; but democracy and demos in their truest form are based upon the recognized principle of democratic justice, that all should 'Everybody to count for one and nobody for more than one.' count equally; for equality implies that the rich should have no more share in the government than the poor[b], and should not be the only rulers, but that all should rule equally according to their numbers[c]. And in this way men think that they will secure equality and freedom in their state.

Next comes the question, how is this equality to be 3. By what arrangement of the qualification is equality to be secured? obtained? Is the qualification to be so distributed that five hundred rich shall be equal to a thousand poor? and shall we give the thousand a power equal to that of the five hundred? or, if this is not to be the mode, ought we, still retaining the same ratio, to take equal numbers from each and give them the control of the elections[d] and of

[a] Cp. iv. 6. § 5.
[b] Transposing *ἀπόρους* and *εὐπόρους*, with Bekker's 2nd ed.
[c] Cp. iv. 4. § 22.
[d] Reading with Bekker's 2nd ed. *αἱρέσεων* from conjecture for *διαιρέσεων*, which is the reading of the MSS. See note.

VI. 3. the courts?—Which, according to the democratical no- 2
tion, is the juster form of the constitution,—this or one
based on numbers only? Democrats say that justice is
that to which the majority agree, oligarchs that to which
the wealthier class; ~~in their opinion~~ the decision should
be given according to the amount of property. In both 3
principles there is some inequality and injustice. For if
justice is the will of the few, any one person who has
more wealth than all the rest of his class put together,
ought, upon the oligarchical principle, to have the sole
power—but this would be tyranny; or if justice is the
will of the majority, as I was before saying*, they will
unjustly confiscate the property of the wealthy minority.
To find a principle of equality in which they both agree 4
we must enquire into their respective ideas of justice.

Now they agree in saying that whatever is decided
by the majority of the citizens is to be deemed law.
Granted:—but not without some reserve; since there are
two classes out of which a state is composed,—the poor
and the rich,—that is to be deemed law, on which both
or the greater part of both agree; and if they disagree,
that which is approved by the greater number, and by
those who have the higher qualification. For example, 5
suppose that there are ten rich and twenty poor, and
some measure is approved by six of the rich and is disap-
proved by fifteen of the poor, and the remaining four of
the rich join with the party of the poor, and the remain-
ing five of the poor with that of the rich; in such a case
the will of those whose qualifications, when both sides
are added up, are the greatest, should prevail. If they turn 6
out to be equal, there is no greater difficulty than at
present, when, if the assembly or the courts are divided,
recourse is had to the lot, or to some similar expedient. 1318b.
But, although it may be difficult in theory to know what
is just and equal, the practical difficulty of inducing those
to forbear who can, if they like, encroach, is far greater,

In what sense is the will of the majority law?

* Cp. iii. 10. § 1.

for the weaker are always asking for equality and justice, but the stronger [a]care for none of these things[a]. VI. 3.

Of the four kinds of democracy, as was said in the previous discussion[b], the best is that which comes first in order; it is also the oldest of them all. I am speaking of them according to the natural classification of their inhabitants. For the best material of democracy is an agricultural population[c]; there is no difficulty in forming a democracy where the mass of the people live by agri- 2 culture or tending of cattle. Being poor, they have no leisure, and therefore do not often attend the assembly, and not having the necessaries of life they are always at work, and do not covet the property of others. Indeed, they find their employment pleasanter than the cares of government or office where no great gains can be made 3 out of them, for the many are more desirous of gain than of honour[d]. A proof is that even the ancient tyrannies were patiently endured by them, as they still endure oligarchies, if they are allowed to work and are not deprived of their property; for some of them grow quickly rich and 4 the others are well enough off. Moreover they have the power of electing the magistrates and calling them to account[e]; their ambition, if they have any, is thus satisfied; and in some democracies, although they do not all share in the appointment of offices, except through representatives elected in turn out of the whole people, as at Mantinea;—yet, if they have the power of deliberating, 5 the many are contented. Even this form of government may be regarded as a democracy, and was such at Mantinea. Hence it is both expedient and customary in such a democracy that all should elect to offices, and conduct scrutinies, and sit in the law-courts, but that the great offices should be filled up by election and from persons having a qualification; the greater requiring a greater qualification, or, if there be no offices for which a qualification is required, then those who are marked out

4. (1) The best material of democracy an agricultural population, dwelling far away from the town, and always at work.

In such a democracy the magistrates are elected by all out of the educated and wealthy, and are responsible to all.

[a] Or, 'care nothing for the weaker.'
[b] Cp. iv. 4. § 22.
[c] Cp. iv. 6. § 2.
[d] Cp. iv. 13. § 8.
[e] Cp. ii. 12. § 5.

VI. 4. There is good government and everybody is satisfied.

by special ability should be appointed. Under such a 6
form of government the citizens are sure to be governed
well, (for the offices will always be held by the best
persons; the people are willing enough to elect them and
are not jealous of the good). The good and the notables
will then be satisfied, for they will not be governed by
men who are their inferiors, and the persons elected will
rule justly, because others will call them to account.
Every man should be responsible to others, nor should 7
any one be allowed to do just as he pleases; for (where
absolute freedom is allowed there is nothing to restrain the
evil which is inherent in every man). But the principle of 1319a
responsibility secures that which is the greatest good in
states; the right persons rule and are prevented from
doing wrong, and the people have their due. It is evi- 8
dent that this is the best kind of democracy, and why?
because the people are drawn from a certain class. The
ancient laws of many states which aimed at making
the people husbandmen were excellent. They provided
either that no one should possess more than a certain
quantity of land, or that, if he did, the land should not
be within a certain distance from the town or the acropolis.
Formerly in many states there was a law forbidding any 9
one to sell his original allotment of land[a]. There is a
similar law attributed to Oxylus, which is to the effect
that there should be a certain portion of every man's
property on which he could not borrow money. A use-
ful corrective to the evil of which I am speaking would 10
be the law of the Aphytaeans, who, although they are nu-
merous, and do not possess much land, are all of them
husbandmen. For their properties are reckoned in the
census, not entire, but only in such small portions [b]that
even the poor may have more than the amount required[b].

Various modes of encouraging small land-owners.

(2) A pastoral democracy

Next best to an agricultural, and in many respects 11
similar, are a pastoral people, who live by their flocks;

[a] Cp. ii. 7. § 7.

[b] Or, 'that the qualification of the poor may exceed that of the rich.'

they are the best trained of any for war, robust in body VI. 4.
12 and able to camp out. The people of whom other democracies consist are far inferior to them, for their life is inferior; there is no room for moral excellence in any of their employments, whether they be mechanics or
13 traders or labourers. Besides, people of this class can readily come to the assembly, because they are continually moving about in the city and in the agora; whereas husbandmen are scattered over the country and do not meet, or equally feel the want of assembling together.
14 Where the territory extends to a distance from the city, there is no difficulty in making an excellent democracy or constitutional government; for the people are compelled to settle in the country, and even if there is a town population the assembly ought not to meet when the
15 country people cannot come. We have thus explained how the first and best form of democracy should be constituted; it is clear that the other or inferior sorts
19b. will deviate in a regular order, and the population which is excluded will at each stage be of a lower kind.

is also good.

(3) The democracy of towns far inferior.

The last form of democracy, that in which all share alike, is one which cannot be borne by all states, and will not last long unless well regulated by laws and customs. The more general causes which tend to destroy this or other kinds of government have now been
16 pretty fully considered[a]. In order to constitute such a democracy and strengthen the people, the leaders have been in the habit of including as many as they can, and making citizens not only of those who are legitimate, but even of the illegitimate, and of those who have only one parent a citizen, whether father or mother[b]; for nothing
17 of this sort comes amiss to such a democracy. This is the way in which demagogues proceed. Whereas the right thing would be to make no more additions when the number of the commonalty exceeds that of the notables or of the middle class,—beyond this not to go.

(4) Extreme democracy has a precarious existence.

How constituted.

Where it should stop.

[a] Cp. v. 5.

[b] Cp. iii. 5. § 7.

VI. 4. When in excess of this point the state becomes disorderly, and the notables grow excited and impatient of the democracy, as in the insurrection at Cyrene; for no notice is taken of a little evil, but when it increases it strikes the eye. Measures like those which Cleisthenes[a] passed when he wanted to increase the power of the democracy at Athens, or such as were taken by the founders of popular government at Cyrene, are useful in the extreme form of democracy. Fresh tribes and brotherhoods should be established; the private rites of families should be restricted and converted into public ones; in short, every contrivance should be adopted which will mingle the citizens with one another and get rid of old connections. Again, the measures which are taken by tyrants appear all of them to be democratic; such, for instance, as the licence permitted to slaves (which may be to a certain extent advantageous) and also that of women and children, and the allowing everybody to live as he likes[b]. Such a government will have many supporters, for most persons would rather live in a disorderly than in a sober manner.

Often preserved by reorganization.

Licence granted in the extreme democracy to slaves and women.

5. The mere establishment of a democracy is not the only or principal business of the legislator, or of those who wish to create such a state, for any state, however badly constituted, may last one, two, or three days; a far greater difficulty is the preservation of it. The legislator should therefore endeavour to have a firm foundation according to the principles already laid down concerning the preservation and destruction of states[c]; he should guard against the destructive elements, and should make laws, whether written or unwritten, which will contain all the preservatives of states. He must not think the truly democratical or oligarchical measure to be that which will give the greatest amount of democracy or oligarchy, but that which will make them last longest[d]. The demagogues of our own day often get property

To preserve a democracy more difficult than to create one.

Moderation safer than excess.

[a] Cp. iii. 2. § 3; v. 3. § 5. [b] Cp. v. 11. § 11. [c] Cp. Bk. v.
[d] Cp. v. 11. §§ 2, 3.

confiscated[a] in the law-courts in order to please the people. But those who have the welfare of the state at heart should counteract them, and make a law that the property of the condemned which goes into the treasury should not be public but sacred. Thus offenders will be as much afraid, for they will be punished all the same, and the people, having nothing to gain, will not be
4 so ready to condemn the accused. Care should also be taken that state trials are as few as possible, and heavy penalties should be inflicted on those who bring groundless accusations; for it is the practice to indict, not members of the popular party, but the notables, although the citizens ought to be all equally attached to the state, or at any rate should not regard their rulers as enemies.

VI. 5. The rich should be spared, confiscation discouraged.

The false accuser punished.

5 Now, since in the last and worst form of democracy the citizens are very numerous, and can hardly be made to assemble unless they are paid, and to pay them when there are no revenues presses hardly upon the notables (for the money must be obtained by a property-tax and confiscations and corrupt practices of the courts, things which have before now overthrown many democracies); where, I say, there are no revenues, the government should hold few assemblies, and the law-courts should consist of many
6 persons, but sit for a few days only. This system has two advantages: first, the rich do not fear the expense, even although they are unpaid themselves when the poor are paid; and secondly, causes are better tried, for wealthy persons, although they do not like to be long absent from their own affairs, do not mind going
7 for a few days to the law-courts. Where there are revenues the demagogues should not be allowed after their manner to distribute the surplus; the poor are always receiving and always wanting more and more, for such help is like water poured into a leaky cask. Yet the true friend of the people should see that they

Few meetings and short sittings should be the rule.

The surplus revenue should not be thrown away in largesses to the poor,

[a] Cp. v. 5. § 5.

VI. 5. be not too poor, for extreme poverty lowers the character of the democracy; measures also should be taken 8
which will give them lasting prosperity; and as this is
but should be saved and employed to start them in life. equally the interest of all classes, the proceeds of the public revenues should be accumulated and distributed among them, if possible, in such quantities as may enable them to purchase a little farm, or, at any rate, make a beginning in trade and husbandry. And if this 1320b. 9
benevolence cannot be extended to all, money should be distributed in turn according to tribes or other divisions, and in the meantime the rich should pay the fee for the attendance of the poor at the necessary assemblies; and should in return be excused from useless public services.
Good example of the Carthaginians, By administering the state in this spirit the Carthaginians retain the affections of the people; their policy is from time to time to send some of them into their dependent towns, where they grow rich[a]. It is also worthy 10
of a generous and sensible nobility to divide the poor amongst them, and give them the means of going to
and Tarentines. work. The example of the people of Tarentum is also well deserving of imitation, for, by sharing the use of their own property with the poor, they gain their good
In elections vote and lot should be combined. will[b]. Moreover, they divide all their offices into two 11
classes, one-half of them being elected by vote, the other by lot; the latter, that the people may participate in them, and the former, that the state may be better administered. A like result may be gained by dividing the same offices[c], so as to have two classes of magistrates, one chosen by vote, the other by lot.

6. Enough has been said of the manner in which democracies ought to be constituted.

How to construct an oligarchy. From these considerations there will be no difficulty in seeing what should be the constitution of oligarchies. We have only to reason from opposites and compare each form of oligarchy with the corresponding form of democracy.

[a] Cp. ii. 11. § 15. [b] Cp. ii. 5. § 8.
[c] Reading τῆς αὐτῆς ἀρχῆς with Bekker's 2nd ed.

VI. 6.

The best kind of oligarchy should include the best.

2 The first and best attempered of oligarchies is akin to a constitutional government. In this there ought to be two standards of qualification; the one high, the other low—the lower qualifying for the humbler yet indispensable offices and the higher for the superior ones. He who acquires the prescribed qualification should have the rights of citizenship. The nature of those admitted should be
3 such as will make the entire governing body stronger than those who are excluded, and the new citizen should be always taken out of the better class of the people. The principle, narrowed a little, gives another form of oligarchy; until at length we reach the most cliquish and tyrannical of them all, answering to the extreme de-
4 mocracy, which, being the worst, requires vigilance in proportion to its badness. For as healthy bodies and ships well provided with sailors may undergo many mishaps and survive them, whereas sickly constitutions and rotten ill-manned ships are ruined by the very least mistake, so
1321a do the worst forms of government require the greatest
5 care. The populousness of democracies generally preserves them (for number is to democracy in the place of justice based on proportion); whereas the preservation of an oligarchy clearly depends on an opposite principle, viz. good order.

The worst and most precarious is the dynastic.

7.

The preservation of oligarchies.

As there are four chief divisions of the common people, —husbandmen, mechanics, retail traders, labourers; so also there are four kinds of military forces,—the cavalry, the heavy infantry, the light-armed troops, the navy[a]. When the country is adapted for cavalry, then a strong oligarchy is likely to be established. For the security of the inhabitants depends upon a force of this sort, and only rich men can afford to keep horses. The second form of oligarchy prevails when there are heavy infantry[b]; for this service is better suited to the rich than to the
2 poor. But the light-armed and the naval element are wholly democratic; and nowadays, when they are so numerous, if the two parties quarrel, the oligarchy are

Cavalry and heavy infantry oligarchical forces.

Light infantry and the naval element democratical.

[a] Cp. iv. 3. §§ 2, 3. [b] Reading ὁπλίτην with Bekker's 1st ed.

VI. 7. often worsted by them in the struggle. A remedy for this state of things may be found in the practice of generals who combine a proper contingent of light-armed troops, with cavalry and heavy-armed. And this 3
is the way in which the poor get the better of the rich in civil contests; being lightly armed, they fight with advantage against cavalry and heavy infantry. An oligarchy which raises such a force out of the lower classes raises a power against itself. And therefore, since the ages of the citizens vary and some are older and some younger, the fathers should have their own sons, while they are still young, taught the agile movements of light-armed troops; and some, when they grow up, should be selected out of the youth, and become light-armed warriors in reality.

The younger citizens should be trained in light infantry exercises.

The oligarchy should also yield a share in the government 4
to the people, either, as I said before, to those who have a property qualification[a], or, as in the case of Thebes[b], to those who have abstained for a certain number of years from mean employments, or, as at Massalia, to men of merit who are selected for their worthiness, whether [previously] citizens or not. The magistracies of the 5
highest rank, which ought to be in the hands of the governing body, should have expensive duties attached to them, and then the people will not desire them and will take no offence at the privileges of their rulers when they see that they pay a heavy fine for their dignity. It is fitting also that the magistrates on entering office 6
should offer magnificent sacrifices or erect some public edifice, and then the people who participate in the entertainments, and like to see the city decorated with votive offerings and buildings, will not desire an alteration in the government, and the notables will have memorials of their munificence. This, however, is anything but the 7
fashion of our modern oligarchs, who are as covetous of gain as they are of honour; oligarchies like theirs may be well described as petty democracies. Enough of the 1321b.

Deserving persons should be taken into the government.

Magistracies should be made expensive and the magistrates should be munificent.

[a] Cp. c. 6. § 2.

[b] Cp. iii. 5. § 7.

manner in which democracies and oligarchies should be organized. VI. 7.

Next in order follows the right distribution of offices, their number, their nature, their duties, of which indeed we have already spoken[a]. No state can exist not having the necessary offices, and no state can be well administered not having the offices which tend to pre- 8. How to arrange the offices in a state.

2 serve harmony and good order. In small states, as we have already remarked[b], there need not be many of them, but in larger there must be a larger number, and we should carefully consider which offices may properly be united and which separated.

3 First among necessary offices is that which has the care of the market; a magistrate should be appointed to inspect contracts and to maintain order. For in every state there must inevitably be buyers and sellers who will supply one another's wants; this is the readiest way to make a state self-sufficing and so fulfil the purpose for (1) The warden of the market.

4 which men come together into one state[c]. A second office of a similar kind undertakes the supervision and embellishment of public and private buildings, the maintaining and repairing of houses and roads, the prevention of disputes about boundaries and other concerns of a like (2) The warden of the city.

5 nature. This is commonly called the office of City-warden, and has various departments, which, in more populous towns, are shared among different persons, one, for example, taking charge of the walls, another of the

6 fountains, a third of harbours. There is another equally necessary office, and of a similar kind, having to do with the same matters without the walls and in the country:—the magistrates who hold this office are called Wardens of the country, or Inspectors of the woods. Besides these three there is a fourth office of receivers of taxes, who have under their charge the revenue which they distribute among the various departments; these are called (3) The warden of the country. (4) The Treasurer.

7 Receivers or Treasurers. Another officer registers all (5) Registrar.

[a] Cp. iv. 15. [b] Cp. iv. 15. §§ 5–7.

[c] Cp. i. 2. § 8; Nic. Eth. v. 6. § 4; Pl. Rep. ii. 369.

VI. 8. private contracts, and decisions of the courts, all public indictments, and also all preliminary proceedings. This office again is sometimes subdivided, in which case one officer is appointed over all the rest. These officers are called Recorders or Sacred Recorders, Presidents, and the like.

(6) Executioner, Next to these comes an office of which the duties are 8 the most necessary and also the most difficult, viz. that to which is committed the execution of punishments, or the exaction of fines from those who are posted up according to the registers; and also the custody of prisoners. 1322a The difficulty of this office arises out of the odium which 9 is attached to it; no one will undertake it unless great profits are to be made, and any one who does is loth to execute the law. Still the office is necessary; for judicial decisions are useless if they take no effect; and if society cannot exist without them, neither can it exist without the execution of them. It is an office which, being so 10 unpopular, should not be entrusted to one person, but divided among several taken from different courts. In like manner an effort should be made to distribute among different persons the writing up of those who are on the register of the condemned. Some sentences should be executed by officers who have other functions; penalties for new offences should be exacted by new offices; and as regards those which are not new, when one court has given judgment, another should exact the penalty; for example, the wardens of the city should exact the fines imposed by the wardens of the agora, and others again should exact the fines imposed by them. For penalties 11 are more likely to be exacted when less odium attaches to the exaction of them; but a double odium is incurred when the judges who have passed also execute the sentence, and if they are always the executioners, they will be the enemies of all.

and jailor. In many places one magistracy has the custody of the prisoners, while another executes the sentence, as, for example, 'the Eleven' at Athens. It is well to separate 12

off the jailorship, and try by some device to render the office less unpopular. For it is quite as necessary as that of the executioner; but good men do all they can to avoid it, and worthless persons cannot safely be trusted with it; for they themselves require a guard, and are not
13 fit to guard others. There ought not therefore to be a single or permanent officer set apart for this duty; but it should be entrusted to the young, wherever they are ~~organized into a band or guard, and different~~ magistrates acting in turn should take charge of it. VI. 8. How their functions may be rendered less odious.

These are the indispensable officers, and should be ranked first:—next in order follow others, equally necessary, but of higher rank, and requiring great experience
14 and fidelity. Such are the offices to which are committed the guard of the city, and other military functions. Not only in time of war but of peace their duty will be to defend the walls and gates, and to muster and marshal the citizens. In some states there are many such offices; in others there are a few only, while small states are con-
15 tent with one; these officers are called generals or com-
322b manders. Again, if a state has cavalry or light-armed troops or archers or a naval force, it will sometimes happen that each of these departments has separate officers, who are called admirals, or generals of cavalry or of infantry. And there are subordinate officers called naval and military captains, and captains of horse; having others under them:—all these are included
16 in the department of war. Thus much of military command. (7) Military offices.

But since many, not to say all, of these offices handle the public money, there must of necessity be another office which examines and audits them, and has no other functions. Such officers are called by various names,—
17 Scrutineers, Auditors, Accountants, Controllers. Besides all these offices there is another which is supreme over them, and to this, which in a democracy presides over the assembly, is often entrusted both the introduction and the ratification of measures. For that power which (8) Auditors.

VI. 8. convenes the people must of necessity be the head of the
(9) Senators or councillors. state. In some places they are called 'probuli,' because they hold previous deliberations, but in a democracy more commonly 'councillors[a].' These are the chief political 18
offices.

(10) Priests. Another set of officers is concerned with the maintenance of religion; priests and guardians see to the preservation and repair of the temples of the gods and to other matters of religion. One office of this sort may be 19
enough in small places, but in larger ones there are a great many besides the priesthood; for example superintendents of sacrifices, guardians of shrines, treasurers of the sacred revenues. Nearly connected with these 20
there are also the officers appointed for the performance of the public sacrifices, except any which the law assigns to the priests; such officers derive their dignity from the public hearth of the city. They are sometimes called archons, sometimes kings[b], and sometimes prytanes.

Summary of necessary offices. These, then, are the necessary offices, which may be 21
summed up as follows: offices concerned with matters of religion, with war, with the revenue and expenditure, with the market, with the city, with the harbours, with the country; also with the courts of law, with the records of contracts, with execution of sentences, with custody of prisoners, with audits and scrutinies and accounts of magistrates; lastly, there are those which preside over the public deliberations of the state. There are likewise 22
magistracies characteristic of states which are peaceful and prosperous, and at the same time have a regard to good order: such as the offices of guardians of women, guardians of the laws, guardians of children, and directors of gymnastics; also superintendents of gymnastic and 1323a
Dionysiac contests, and of other similar spectacles. Some 23
of these are clearly not democratic offices; for example, the guardianships of women and children[c]—the poor,

[a] Cp. iv. 15. § 11. [b] Cp. iii. 14. § 14.
[c] Cp. iv. 15. § 13.

not having any slaves, must employ both their women and children as servants. VI. 8.

24 Once more: there are three forms of the highest elective offices in states—guardians of the law, probuli, councillors,—of these, the guardians of the law are an aristocratical, the probuli an oligarchical, the council a democratical institution. Enough of the different kinds of offices. Different offices in different states.

BOOK VII.

VII. 1. Procemium. The individual and the state; what is the best life; and is it the same for both?

HE who would duly enquire about the best form of a state ought first to determine which is the most eligible life; while this remains uncertain the best form of the state must also be uncertain; for, in the natural order of things, those may be expected to lead the best life who are governed in the best manner of which their circumstances admit. We ought therefore to ascertain, first of all, which is the most generally eligible life, and then whether the same life is or is not best for the state and for individuals.

For the best life all the three classes of goods are required.

Assuming that enough has been already said in exoteric discourses concerning the best life, we will now only repeat the statements contained in them. Certainly no one will dispute the propriety of that partition of goods which separates them into three classes[a], viz. external goods, goods of the body, and goods of the soul, or deny that the happy man must have all three. For no one would maintain that he is happy who has not in him a particle of courage or temperance or justice or prudence, who is afraid of every insect which flutters past him, and will commit any crime, however great, in order to gratify his lust of meat or drink, who will sacrifice his dearest friend for the sake of half-a-farthing, and is as feeble and false in mind as a child or a madman. These propositions are universally acknowledged as soon as they are uttered[b], but men differ about the degree or relative superiority of this or that good. Some think that a very moderate amount of virtue is enough, but set no limit to their desires of wealth, property, power,

This would be generally admitted, but people differ about the relative importance of them.

[a] Cp. N. Eth. i. 8. § 2.

[b] Omitting ὥσπερ, which is bracketted by Bekker in his second edition.

6 reputation, and the like. To whom we reply by an appeal to facts, which easily prove that mankind do not acquire or preserve virtue by the help of external goods, but ex- 3b. ternal goods by the help of virtue, and that happiness, whether consisting in pleasure or virtue, or both, is more often found with those who are most highly cultivated in their mind and in their character, and have only a moderate share of external goods, than among those who possess external goods to a useless extent but are deficient in higher qualities; and this is not only matter of experience, but, if reflected upon, will easily appear to 7 be in accordance with reason. For, whereas external goods have a limit, like any other instrument[a], and all things useful are of such a nature that where there is too much of them they must either do harm, or at any rate be of no use, to their possessors, every good of the soul, the greater it is, is also of greater use if the epithet useful 8 as well as noble is appropriate to such subjects. No proof is required to show that the best state of one thing in relation to another is proportioned to the degree of excellence by which the natures corresponding to those states are separated from each other: so that, if the soul is more noble than our possessions or our bodies, both absolutely and in relation to us, it must be admitted that the best state of either has a similar ratio to the other. 9 Again, it is for the sake of the soul that goods external and goods of the body are eligible at all, and all wise men ought to choose them for the sake of the soul, and not the soul for the sake of them.

10 Let us acknowledge then that each one has just so much of happiness as he has of virtue and wisdom, and of virtuous and wise action. God is a witness to us of this truth[b], for he is happy and blessed, not by reason of any external good, but in himself and by reason of his own nature. And herein of necessity lies the difference between good fortune and happiness; for external goods

VII. 1. Virtue is not acquired or preserved by external goods, but external goods by virtue.

The goods of the soul never in excess; they are of primary, other goods of secondary, importance.

The divine nature witnesses to the truth that happiness is independent of external goods.

[a] Cp. i. 8. § 15.

[b] Cp. c. 3. § 10; N. Eth. x. 8. § 7; Met. xii. 7.

VII. 1. come of themselves, and chance is the author of them, but no one is just or temperate by or through chance[a]. In like manner, and by a similar train of argument, the 11 happy state may be shown to be that which is [morally] best and which acts rightly; and rightly it cannot act without doing right actions, and neither individual nor state can do right actions without virtue and wisdom. Thus the courage, justice, and wisdom of a state have 12 the same form and nature as the qualities which give the individual who possesses them the name of just, wise, or temperate.

Thus much may suffice by way of preface: for I 13 could not avoid touching upon these questions, neither could I go through all the arguments affecting them; these must be reserved for another discussion.

The best life; Let us assume then that the best life, both for individuals and states, is the life of virtue, having external goods enough for the performance of good actions. If 1324a 14 there are any who controvert our assertion, we will in this treatise pass them over, and consider their objections hereafter.

2. the same for individuals and state. There remains to be discussed the question, Whether the happiness of the individual is the same as that of the state, or different? Here again there can be no doubt—no one denies that they are the same. For those who 2 hold that the well-being of the individual consists in his wealth, also think that riches make the happiness of the whole state, and those who value most highly the life of a tyrant deem that city the happiest which rules over the greatest number; while they who approve an individual for his virtue say that the more virtuous a city is, the happier it is. Two points here present themselves for con- 3 sideration: first (1), which is the more eligible life, that of a citizen who is a member of a state, or that of an alien who has no political ties; and again (2), which is the best form of constitution or the best condition of a

[a] Ethics i. 9. § 6.

state, either on the supposition that political privileges are given to all, or that they are given to a majority only? VII. 2.
4 Since the good of the state and not of the individual is the proper subject of political thought and speculation, and we are engaged in a political discussion, while the first of these two points has a secondary interest for us, the latter will be the main subject of our enquiry.

5 Now it is evident that the form of government is best in which every man, whoever he is, can act for the best and live happily. But even those who agree in thinking that the life of virtue is the most eligible raise a question, whether the life of business and politics is or is not more eligible than one which is wholly independent of external goods, I mean than a contemplative life, which by some is maintained to be the only one worthy of a 6 philosopher. For these two lives—the life of the philosopher and the life of the statesman—appear to have been preferred by those who have been most keen in the pursuit of virtue, both in our own and in other ages. Which is the better is a question of no small moment; for the wise man, like the wise state, will necessarily 7 regulate his life according to the best end. There are some who think that while a despotic rule over others is the greatest injustice, to exercise a constitutional rule over them, even though not unjust, is a great impediment to a man's individual well-being. Others take an opposite view; they maintain that the true life of man is the practical and political, and that every virtue admits 324 b. of being practised, quite as much by statesmen and rulers 8 as by private individuals. Others, again, are of opinion that arbitrary and tyrannical rule alone consists with happiness; indeed, [a] in some states the entire aim of the laws [a] is to give men despotic power over their neigh- 9 bours. And, therefore, although in most cities the laws may be said generally to be in a chaotic state, still, if

The different lives of men: some say.

(1) that even a political or constitutional rule is detrimental to the character;

(2) that the political is the true life;

(3) that happiness is despotic power.

[a] Or, inserting *καί* before *νόμων* (apparently the reading of the old translator), 'in some cases the entire aim both of the constitution and the laws.'

VII. 2. they aim at anything, they aim at the maintenance of power: thus in Lacedaemon and Crete the system of education and the greater part of the laws are framed with a view to war[a]. And in all nations which are able to gratify their ambition military power is held in esteem, for example among the Scythians and Persians and Thracians and Celts. In some nations there are even laws tending to stimulate the warlike virtues, as at Carthage, where we are told that men obtain the honour of wearing as many rings as they have served campaigns. There was once a law in Macedonia that he who had not killed an enemy should wear a halter, and among the Scythians no one who had not slain his man was allowed to drink out of the cup which was handed round at a certain feast. Among the Iberians, a warlike nation, the number of enemies whom a man has slain is indicated by the number of obelisks which are fixed in the earth round his tomb; and there are numerous practices among other nations of a like kind, some of them established by law and others by custom. Yet to a reflecting mind it must appear very strange that the statesman should be always considering how he can dominate and tyrannize over others, whether they will or not. How can that which is not even lawful be the business of the statesman or the legislator? Unlawful it certainly is to rule without regard to justice, for there may be might where there is no right. The other arts and sciences offer no parallel; a physician is not expected to persuade or coerce his patients, nor a pilot the passengers in his ship. Yet many appear to think that a despotic government is a true political form, and what men affirm to be unjust and inexpedient in their own case they are not ashamed of practising towards others; they demand justice for themselves, but where other men are concerned they care nothing about it. Such behaviour is irrational; unless the one party is born to command, and the other born to serve, in which case men have a right to

The laws of most nations, however confused, make power and conquest their aim. Illustrations.

But is domination the true object of statesmanship? Nay, it is unjust.

[a] Cp. Plato Laws i. 633 ff.

command, not indeed all their fellows, but only those who are intended to be subjects; just as we ought not to hunt mankind, whether for food or sacrifice, but only the animals which are intended for food or sacrifice, that is
16 to say, such wild animals as are eatable. And surely
5a. there may be a city happy in isolation, which we will assume to be well-governed (for it is quite possible that a city thus isolated might be well-administered and have good laws); but such a city would not be constituted with any view to war or the conquest of enemies,—all that sort
17 of thing must be excluded. Hence we see very plainly that warlike pursuits, although generally to be deemed honourable, are not the supreme end of all things, but only means. And the good lawgiver should enquire how states and races of men and communities may participate in a good life, and in the happiness which is
18 attainable by them. His enactments will not be always the same; and where there are neighbours[a] he will have to deal with them according to their characters, and to see what duties are to be performed towards each. The end at which the best form of government should aim may be properly made a matter of future consideration[b].

VII. 2.

A city placed where war is an impossibility may still be happy.

The ideal of the lawgiver relative to circumstances.

Let us now address those who, while they agree that the life of virtue is the most eligible, differ about the manner of practising it. For some renounce political power, and think that the life of the freeman is different from the life of the statesman and the best of all; but others think the life of the statesman best. The argument of the latter is that he who does nothing cannot do well, and that virtuous activity is identical with happiness. To both we say: 'you are partly right and partly wrong.' The first class are right in affirming that the life of the freeman
2 is better than the life of the despot; for there is nothing grand or noble in having the use of a slave, in so far as he is a slave; or in issuing commands about necessary things. But it is an error to suppose that every sort of

3.

Is the life of the freeman better than that of the ruler?

Better than the life of the despot certainly.

[a] Cp. ii. 6. § 7; 7. § 14. [b] Cp. c. 14.

VII. 3. rule is despotic like that of a master over slaves, for there
But all rule is not that of the despot. is as great a difference between the rule over freemen and the rule over slaves as there is between slavery by nature and freedom by nature, about which I have said
Not better, inasmuch as happiness implies activity. enough at the commencement of this treatise[a]. And it 3 is equally a mistake to place inactivity above action, for happiness is activity, and the actions of the just and wise are the realization of much that is noble.

But perhaps some one, accepting these premises, may still maintain that supreme power is the best of all things, because the possessors of it are able to perform the
But, if so, he who has most power can do the most good. greatest number of noble actions. If so, the man who is 4 able to rule, instead of giving up anything to his neighbour, ought rather to take away his power[illegible] the father should make no account of his son, nor the son of his father, nor friend of friend; they should not bestow a thought on one another in comparison with this higher object, for the best is the most eligible and 'doing well'
Reductio ad absurdum of this doctrine. is the best. There might be some truth in such a view if we assume that robbers and plunderers attain the chief 1325 b good. But this can never be; and hence we infer the view 5
Only the supremely best man has a right to absolute power. to be false. For the actions of a ruler cannot really be honourable, unless he is as much superior to other men as a husband is to a wife, or a father to his children, or a master to his slaves. And therefore he who violates the law can never recover by any success, however great, what he has already lost in departing from virt[illegible] For equals share alike in the honourable and the just, as is just and equal. But that the unequal should be given 6 to equals, and the unlike to those who are like, is contrary to nature, and nothing which is contrary to nature is good. If, therefore, there is any one[b] superior in virtue and in the power of performing the best actions, him we ought to follow and obey, but he must have the 7 capacity for action as well as virtue.

If we are right in our view, and happiness is assumed

[a] Cp. i. c. 5, 6, 7. [b] Cp. iii. 13. § 25, and 17. § 7.

to be virtuous activity, the active life will be the best, VII. 3.
8 both for the city collectively, and for individuals. Not The life of virtuous activity the best, but this is not confined to external actions.
that a life of action must necessarily have relation to others, as some persons think, nor are those ideas only to be regarded as practical which are pursued for the sake of practical results, but much more the thoughts and contemplations which are independent and complete in themselves since virtuous activity, and therefore action, is an end, and even in the case of external actions
9 the directing mind is most truly said to act. Neither, again, is it necessary that states which are cut off from others and choose to live alone should be inactive; for there may be activity also in the parts; there are many ways in which the members of a state act upon one
10 another. The same thing is equally true of every individual. If this were otherwise, God and the universe, who have no external actions over and above their own energies[a], would be far enough from perfection. Hence it is evident that the same life is best for each individual, and for states, and for mankind collectively. There may be an inward energy, like the divine, both in states and individuals.

Thus far by way of introduction. In what has pre- 4.
ceded I have discussed other forms of government; in The materials of the ideal state.
what remains the first point to be considered is what should be the conditions of the ideal or perfect state;
2 for the perfect state cannot exist without a due supply of the means of life. And therefore we must presuppose many purely imaginary conditions[b], but nothing impossible. There will be a certain number of citizens,
3 a country in which to place them, and the like. As the weaver or shipbuilder or any other artisan must have
1326 a. the material proper for his work (and in proportion as this is better prepared, so will the result of his art be nobler), so the statesman or legislator must also have the materials suited to him.

4 First among the materials required by the statesman Population.
is population: he will consider what should be the

[a] Cp. c. 1. § 10.

[b] Cp. ii. 6. § 7.

VII. 4. Extent. number and character of the citizens, and then what should be the size and character of the country. Most persons think that a state in order to be happy ought to be large; but even if they are right, they have no idea what is a large and what a small state. For they judge of the 5 size of the city by the number of the inhabitants; whereas they ought to regard, not their number, but their power. A city too, like an individual, has a work to do; and that city which is best adapted to the fulfil- The largest state not always the greatest. ment of its work is to be deemed greatest in the same sense of the word great in which Hippocrates might be called greater, not as a man, but as a physician, than some one else who was taller. And even if we reckon 6 greatness by numbers, we ought not to include everybody, for there must always be in cities a multitude of slaves and sojourners and foreigners; but we should include those only who are members of the state, and who The number of warriors and councillors the test. form an essential part of it. The number of the latter is a proof of the greatness of a city; but a city which produces numerous artisans and comparatively few soldiers cannot be great, for a great city is not to be confounded with a populous one. Moreover, experience shows that a 7 very populous city can rarely, if ever, be well governed; since all cities which have a reputation for good government have a limit of population. We may argue on A limit necessary, grounds of reason, and the same result will follow. For 8 law is order, and good law is good order; but a very great multitude cannot be orderly: to introduce order into the unlimited is the work of a divine power—of such a power as holds together the universe. Beauty is realized in number and magnitude[a], and the state which 9 combines magnitude with good order must necessarily be the most beautiful. To the size of states there is a as in works of art, plants, animals. limit, as there is to other things, plants, animals, implements; for none of these retain their natural power 10 when they are too large or too small, but they either

[a] Cp. Poet. 7. § 4.

wholly lose their nature, or are spoiled. For example[a], VII. 4.
a ship which is only a span long will not be a ship at all, nor a ship a quarter of a mile long; yet there may
1326b. be a ship of a certain size, either too large or too small,
11 which will still be a ship, but bad for sailing. In like manner a state when composed of too few is not as a state ought to be, self-sufficing; when of too many, though self-sufficing in all mere necessaries, it is a nation and not a state, being almost incapable of constitutional government. For who can be the general of such a vast multitude, or who the herald, unless he have the voice of a Stentor?

A state should be neither too large nor too small; but large enough to be self-sufficing, small enough to be well-governed.

A state then only begins to exist when it has attained a population sufficient for a good life in the political community; it may indeed somewhat exceed this number.
12 But, as I was saying, there must be a limit. What should be the limit will be easily ascertained by experience. For both governors and governed have duties to perform; the special functions of a governor are to command and
13 to judge. But if the citizens of a state are to judge and to distribute offices according to merit, then they must know each other's characters; where they do not possess this knowledge, both the election to offices and the decision of lawsuits will go wrong. When the population is very large they are manifestly settled at haphazard,
14 which clearly ought not to be. Besides, in an overpopulous state foreigners and metics will readily acquire the rights of citizens, for who will find them out? Clearly then the best limit of the population of a state is the largest number which suffices for the purposes of life, and can be taken in at a single view. Enough concerning the size of a city.

The citizens should know one another.

Much the same principle will apply to the territory of the state: every one would agree in praising the state which is most entirely self-sufficing; and that must be the state which is all-producing, for to have all things 5.

[a] Cp. v. 9. § 7.

VII. 5. and to want nothing is sufficiency. (In size and extent it should be such as may enable the inhabitants to live temperately and liberally in the enjoyment of leisure[a].) Whether we are right or wrong in laying down this limit we will enquire more precisely hereafter[b], when we have occasion to consider what is the right use of property and wealth: a matter which is much disputed, because men are inclined to rush into one of two extremes, some into meanness, others into luxury.

They should have leisure.

The territory should be defensible.

It is not difficult to determine the general character of the territory which is required; there are, however, some points on which military authorities should be heard; they tell us that it should be difficult of access to the enemy, and easy of egress to the inhabitants. Further, we require that the land as well as the inhabitants of whom we were just now speaking should be taken in at a single view, for a country which is easily seen can be easily protected. (As to the position of the city, if we could have what we wish, it should be well-situated in regard both to sea or land.) This then is one principle, that it should be a convenient centre for the protection of the whole country: the other is, that it should be suitable for receiving the fruits of the soil, and also for the bringing in of timber and any other products.

The city should have a good central position.

6. (Whether a communication with the sea is beneficial to a well-ordered state or not is a question which has often been asked. It is argued that the introduction of strangers brought up under other laws, and the increase of population, will be adverse to good order (for a maritime people will always have a crowd of merchants coming and going), and that intercourse by sea is inimical to good government[c]. Apart from these considerations, it would be undoubtedly better, both with a view to safety and to the provision of necessaries, that the city and territory should be connected with the sea; the defenders of a country, if they are to maintain themselves against an

Should it be near the sea? Much to be said for and against.

Reasons against.

Many reasons for.

[a] Cp. ii. 6. § 9. [b] Cp. c. 8–10 infra (?).
[c] Cp. Plato Laws iv. 704 ff.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

enemy, should be easily relieved both by land and by sea; and even if they are not able to attack by sea and land at once, they will have less difficulty in doing mischief to their assailants on one element, if they themselves can use both. Moreover, it is necessary that they should import from abroad what is not found in their own country, and that they should export what they have in excess; for a city ought to be a market, not indeed for others, but for herself. VII. 6.

Those who make themselves a market for the world only do so for the sake of revenue, and if a state ought not to desire profit of this kind it ought not to have such an emporium. Now-a-days we often see in countries and cities dockyards and harbours very conveniently placed outside the city, but not too far off; and they are kept in dependence by walls and similar fortifications. Cities thus situated manifestly reap the benefit of intercourse with their ports; and any harm which is likely to accrue may be easily guarded against by the laws, which will pronounce and determine who may hold communication with one another, and who may not.

The city should not be a market for the world; but still the port may be conveniently connected with the town.

There can be no doubt that the possession of a moderate naval force is advantageous to a city; the citizens require such a force for their own needs, and they should also be formidable to their neighbours in certain cases[a], or, if necessary, able to assist them by sea as well as by land. The proper number or magnitude of this naval force is relative to the character of the state; for if her function is to take a leading part in politics[b], her naval power should be commensurate with the scale of her enterprizes. The population of the state need not be much increased, since there is no necessity that the sailors should be citizens: the marines who have the control and command will be freemen, and belong also to the infantry; and wherever there is a dense population of Perioeci and husbandmen, there will

Advantages of a naval force.

The sailors need not be citizens.

[a] Cp. ii. 6. § 7.

[b] Reading πολιτικόν with the MSS. and Bekker's first edition.

VII. 6. always be sailors more than enough. Of this we see instances at the present day. The city of Heraclea, for example, although small in comparison with many others, can man a considerable fleet. Such are our conclusions 9 respecting the territory of the state, its harbour, its towns, its relations to the sea, and its maritime power.

7. Having spoken of the number of the citizens, we will proceed to speak of what should be their character. This is a subject which can be easily understood by any one who casts his eye on the more celebrated states of Hellas, and generally on the distribution of races in the habitable world. Those who live in a cold climate 2 and in [northern] Europe are full of spirit, but wanting in intelligence and skill; and therefore they keep their freedom, but have no political organization, and are incapable of ruling over others. Whereas the natives of Asia are intelligent and inventive, but they are wanting in spirit, and therefore they are always in a state of subjection and slavery. But the Hellenic race, which is 3 situated between them, is likewise intermediate in character, being high-spirited and also intelligent[a]. Hence it continues free, and is the best-governed of any nation, and, if it could be formed into one state, would be able to rule the world. There are also similar differences in 4 the different tribes of Hellas; for some of them are of a one-sided nature, and are intelligent or courageous only, while in others there is a happy combination of both qualities. And clearly those whom the legislator will most easily lead to virtue may be expected to be both intelligent and courageous. Some [like Plato[b]] say that 5 the guardians should be friendly towards those whom they know, fierce towards those whom they do not know. Now, passion is the quality of the soul which 1328 a. begets friendship and inspires affection; notably the spirit within us is more stirred against our friends and acquaintances than against those who are unknown to

The citizens should be of an intermediate character, combining spirit and intelligence; of that character which distinguishes the Hellenes from other races.

Attack upon Plato.

[a] Cp. Plato Rep. iv. 435 E, 436 A.

[b] Rep. ii. 375.

6 us, when we think that we are despised by them; for VII. 7.
which reason Archilochus, complaining of his friends, very naturally addresses his soul in these words,

'For wert thou not plagued on account of friends[a]?'

Friendship contains an element of passion which is also the basis both of authority and liberty.

The power of command and the love of freedom are in all men based upon this quality, for passion is com-
7 manding and invincible. Nor is it right to say that the guardians should be fierce towards those whom they do not know, for we ought not to be out of temper with any one; and a lofty spirit is not fierce by nature, but only when excited against evil-doers. And this, as I was saying before, is a feeling which men show most strongly towards their friends if they think they have
8 received a wrong at their hands: as indeed is reasonable; for, besides the actual injury, they seem to be deprived of a benefit by those who owe them one. Hence the saying,

'Cruel is the strife of brethren[b];'

and again,

'They who love in excess also hate in excess[b].'

9 Thus we have nearly determined the number and character of the citizens of our state, and also the size and nature of their territory. I say 'nearly,' for we ought not to require the same minuteness in theory as in fact[c].

8. As in other natural compounds the conditions of a composite whole are not necessarily organic parts of it, so in a state or in any other combination forming a unity not everything is a part, which is a necessary condition[d].

Parts not to be identified with conditions.

2 The members of an association have necessarily some one thing the same and common to all, in which they share equally or unequally; for example, food or land or any
3 other thing. But where there are two things of which one is a means and the other an end, they have nothing

[a] Or: 'For surely thou art not plagued on account of thy friends?' The line is probably corrupt. Better to read with Bergk, σὺ γὰρ δὴ παρὰ φίλων ἀπήγχεο, 'for thou indeed wert plagued by friends.'
[b] Eurip. Frag. 51 Dindorf. [c] Cp. 12. § 9, infra. [d] Cp. iii. 5. § 2.

VII. 8. in common except that the one receives what the other produces.) Such, for example, is the relation in which workmen and tools stand to their work; the house and the builder have nothing in common, but the art of the builder is for the sake of the house. And so states 4
require property, but property, even though living beings are included in it[a], is no part of a state; (for a state is not a community of living beings only, but a community of equals, aiming at the best life possible.) Now, 5
whereas happiness is the highest good, being a realization and perfect practice of virtue, which some attain, while others have little or none of it, the various qualities of men are clearly the reason why there are various kinds of states and many forms of government; for different men seek after happiness in different ways and by different 1328 b
means, and so make for themselves different modes of life and forms of government. We must see also how 6
many things are indispensable to the existence of a state, for what we call the parts of a state will be found among them. Let us then enumerate the functions of a state, and we shall easily elicit what we want:

To find the parts of a state we must enumerate the conditions of one.

First, there must be food; secondly, arts, for life requires many instruments; thirdly, there must be arms, 7
for the members of a community have need of them in order to maintain authority both against disobedient subjects and against external assailants; fourthly, there must be a certain amount of revenue, both for internal needs, and for the purposes of war; fifthly, or rather first, there must be a care of religion, which is commonly called worship; sixthly, and most necessary of all, there must be a power of deciding what is for the public interest, and what is just in men's dealings with one another.

These are the things which every state may be said to 8
need. For a state is not a mere aggregate of persons, but a union of them sufficing for the purposes of life[b]; and if any of these things be wanting, it is simply impossible

[a] Cp. i. 4. § 2. [b] Cp. supra, c. 5. § 1.

that the community can be self-sufficing. A state then VII. 8.
should be framed with a view to the fulfilment of these functions. There must be husbandmen to procure food, and artisans, and a warlike and a wealthy class, and priests, and judges to decide what is just[a] and expedient.

Having determined these points, we have in the next 9.
place to consider whether all ought to share in every sort of occupation. Shall every man be at once husbandman, artisan, councillor, judge, or shall we suppose the several occupations just mentioned assigned to different persons? or, thirdly, shall some employments be assigned to individuals and others common to all? The question, however, does not occur in every state; as we were saying, all may be shared by all, or not all by all, but only some by some[b]; and hence arise the differences of states, for in democracies all share in all, in oligarchies the opposite practice prevails. Now, since we are here speaking of the best form of government, and that under which the state will be most happy (and happiness, as has been already said, cannot exist without virtue[c]), it clearly follows that in the state which is best governed the citizens who are absolutely and not merely relatively just men must not lead the life of mechanics or tradesmen, for such a life is ignoble and inimical to virtue[d]. Neither must they be husbandmen, since leisure is necessary both for the development of virtue and the performance of political duties.

Should every man hold every office?

The meaner sort must be excluded.

Again, there is in a state a class of warriors, and another of councillors, who advise about the expedient and determine matters of law, and these seem in an especial manner parts of a state. Now, should these two classes be distinguished, or are both functions to be assigned to the same persons? Here again there is no difficulty in seeing that both functions will in one way belong to the same, in another, to different persons. To different persons in so far as their employments are

Should the same persons be both warriors and councillors?

[a] Reading δικαίων with Bekker in his second edition.
[b] Cp. iv. c. 4 and 14. [c] Cp. c. 8. § 5. [d] Cp. Plato Laws xi. 919.

VII. 9. suited to different ages of life, for the one requires wisdom, and the other strength. But on the other hand, since it is an impossible thing that those who are able to use or to resist force should be willing to remain always in subjection, from this point of view the persons are the same; for those who carry arms can always determine the fate of the constitution. It remains therefore 6
Yes; but at different ages.
that both functions of government should be entrusted to the same persons, not, however, at the same time, but in the order prescribed by nature, who has given to young men strength and to older men wisdom. Such a distribution of duties will be expedient and also just,
The governing classes should be in easy circumstances.
and is founded upon a principle of proportion. Besides, 7 the ruling class should be the owners of property, for they are citizens, and the citizens of a state should be in good circumstances; whereas mechanics or any other class whose art excludes the art of virtue have no share in the state. This follows from our first principle, for happiness cannot exist without virtue, and a city is not to be termed happy in regard to a portion of the citizens, but in regard to them all[a]. And clearly property should 8 be in their hands, since the husbandmen will of necessity be slaves or barbarians or Perioeci[b].

Those who are past the service of the state should enter the service of the Gods.
Of the classes enumerated there remain only the priests, and the manner in which their office is to be regulated is obvious. No husbandman or mechanic 9 should be appointed to it; for the Gods should receive honour from the citizens only. Now since the body of the citizens is divided into two classes, the warriors and the councillors; and it is beseeming that the worship of the Gods should be duly performed, and also a rest provided in their service for those who from age have given up active life—to the old men of these two classes should be assigned the duties of the priesthood.

We have shown what are the necessary conditions, 10 and what the parts of a state: husbandmen, craftsmen,

[a] Cp. ii. 5. §§ 27, 28. [b] Cp. infra, c. 10. §§ 13, 14.

and labourers of all kinds are necessary to the existence of states, but the parts of the state are the warriors and councillors. And these are distinguished severally from one another, the distinction being in some cases permanent, in others not. VII. 9.

It is no new or recent discovery of political philosophers that the state ought to be divided into classes, and that the warriors should be separated from the husbandmen. The system has continued in Egypt and in Crete to this day, and was established, as tradition says, by a law of Sesostris in Egypt and of Minos in Crete. The institution of common tables also appears to be of ancient date, being in Crete as old as the reign of Minos, and in Italy far older. The Italian historians say that there was a certain Italus king of Oenotria, from whom the Oenotrians were called Italians, and who gave the name of Italy to the promontory of Europe lying between the Scylletic and Lametic Gulfs, which are distant from one another only half-a-day's journey. They say that this Italus converted the Oenotrians from shepherds into husbandmen, and besides other laws which he gave them, was the founder of their common meals; even in our day some who are derived from him retain this institution and certain other laws of his. On the side of Italy towards Tyrrhenia dwelt the Opici, who are now, as of old, called Ausones; and on the side towards Iapygia and the Ionian Gulf, in the district called Syrtis[a], the Chones, who are likewise of Oenotrian race. From this part of the world originally came the institution of common tables; the separation into castes [which was much older] from Egypt, for the reign of Sesostris is of far greater antiquity than that of Minos. It is true indeed that these and many other things have been invented several times over[b] in the course of ages,

10.

Caste an Egyptian institution.

The Syssitia came to Crete from Italy.

Digression on Italian geography.

[a] Retaining the reading of the MSS., which Bekker in his second edition has altered into Σιρῖτις, a conjecture of Goettling's.

[b] Cp. Plato Laws iii. 676; Aristotle Metaph. xi. 8. 1074 b. 10; and Pol. ii. 5. § 16 (note).

VII. 10. or rather times without number; for necessity may be supposed to have taught men the inventions which were absolutely required, and when these were provided, it was natural that other things which would adorn and enrich life should grow up by degrees. And we may infer that in political institutions the same rule holds.

'There is nothing new under the sun.'

Antiquity of Egypt.

Egypt[a] witnesses to the antiquity of all things, for the 8
Egyptians appear to be of all people the most ancient; and they have laws and a regular constitution [existing from time immemorial]. We should therefore make the best use of what has been already discovered[b], and try to supply defects.

Land should belong to a ruling, and be tilled by a subject, class.

I have already remarked that the land ought to belong 9
to those who possess arms and have a share in the government[c], and that the husbandmen ought to be a class distinct from them; and I have determined what should be the extent and nature of the territory. Let me proceed to discuss the distribution of the land, and the character of the agricultural class; for I do not think that property ought to be common, as some maintain[d], but 1330 a
only that by friendly consent there should be a common use of it; and that no citizen should be in want of subsistence.

Common meals should be established at the public cost.

As to common meals, there is a general agreement 10
that a well-ordered city should have them; and we will hereafter explain what are our own reasons for taking this view. They ought, however, to be open to all the citizens[e]. And yet it is not easy for the poor to contribute the requisite sum out of their private means, and to provide also for their household. The expense of religious worship should likewise be a public charge. The land must therefore be divided into two parts, one 11
public and the other private, and each part should be

[a] Cp. Metaph. i. c. 1. § 16; Meteor. i. 14. 352 b. 19; Plato Timaeus 22 B; Laws ii. 656, 657.

[b] Reading, with Bekker in his second edition, *εὑρημένους*: which may have been altered into *εἰρημένοις* from a confusion of *εἴρηται πρότερον* in § 9 infra.

[c] Cp. supra, c. 9. §§ 5–7. [d] Cp. ii. 5. [e] Cp. ii. 9. § 31.

subdivided, half of the public land being appropriated VII. 10.
to the service of the Gods, and the other half used to
defray the cost of the common meals; while of the
private land, half should be near the border, and the
other near the city, so that each citizen having two lots
they may all of them have land in both places; there
is justice and fairness in such a division[a], and it tends
to inspire unanimity among the people in their border
12 wars. Where there is not this arrangement, some of
them are too ready to come to blows with their neigh-
bours, while others are so cautious that they quite lose
the sense of honour. Wherefore there is a law in some
places which forbids those who dwell near the border to
take part in public deliberations about wars with neigh-
bours, on the ground that their interests will pervert
13 their judgment. For the reasons already mentioned
then, the land should be divided in the manner de-
scribed. The very best thing of all would be that the
husbandmen should be slaves, not all of the same race[b]
and not spirited, for if they have no spirit they will be
better suited for their work, and there will be no danger
of their making a revolution. The next best thing would
be that they should be perioeci of foreign race[c], and of
14 a like inferior nature; some of them should be the
slaves of individuals, and employed on the private
estates of men of property, the remainder should be the
property of the state and employed on the common
land[d]. I will hereafter explain what is the proper treat-
ment of slaves, and why it is expedient that liberty
should be always held out to them as the reward of
their services.

Land to be half private, half public, and to be divided into double lots.

The cultivators to be slaves.

Slaves should be well treated and encouraged by the hope of freedom.

We have already said that the city should be open to II.
the land and to the sea[e], and to the whole country as

[a] Cp. Plato Laws v. 745, where the same proposal is found. Aristotle, in Book ii. 6. § 15, condemns the division of lots which he here adopts.

[b] Cp. Plato Laws vi. 777.

[c] Cp. c. 9. § 8.

[d] Cp. ii. 7. § 23.

[e] Cp. c. 5. § 3.

VII. 11. The city itself should be healthy; should have a site convenient for war and administration, a good water supply, and good air.

far as possible. In respect of the place itself our wish would be to find a situation for it, fortunate in four things. The first, health—this is a necessity: cities which 2
lie towards the east, and are blown upon by winds coming from the east, are the healthiest; next in healthfulness are those which are sheltered from the north wind, for they have a milder winter. The site of the city should likewise be convenient both for political ad- 1330b
ministration and for war. With a view to the latter it 3
should afford easy egress to the citizens, and at the same time be inaccessible and difficult of capture to enemies[a]. There should be a natural abundance of springs and fountains in the town, or, if there is a deficiency of them, great reservoirs may be established for the collection of rain-water, such as will not fail when the inhabitants are cut off from the country by war. Special 4
care should be taken of the health of the inhabitants, which will depend chiefly on the healthiness of the locality and of the quarter to which they are exposed, and secondly, on the use of pure water; this latter point is by no means a secondary consideration. For the elements which we use most and oftenest for the support of the body contribute most to health, and among these are water and air. Wherefore, in all wise states, 5
if there is a want of pure water, and the supply is not all equally good, the drinking water ought to be separated from that which is used for other purposes.

Different positions suitable to different forms of government.

As to strongholds, what is suitable to different forms of government varies: thus an acropolis is suited to an oligarchy or a monarchy, but a plain to a democracy; neither to an aristocracy, but rather a number of strong places. The arrangement of private houses is con- 6
sidered to be more agreeable and generally more convenient, if the streets are regularly laid out after the modern fashion which Hippodamus[b] introduced, but for security in war the antiquated mode of building, which made it difficult for strangers to get out of a town and

How the streets should be laid out.

[a] Repetition of c. 5. § 3. [b] Cp. ii. 8. § 1.

for assailants to find their way in, is preferable. A city VII. 11.
should therefore adopt both plans of building: it is possible to arrange the houses irregularly, as husbandmen plant their vines in what are called 'clumps.' The whole town should not be laid out in straight lines, but only certain quarters and regions; thus security and beauty will be combined.

Should there be walls to the city?

As to walls, those who say[a] that cities making any pretension to military virtue should not have them, are quite out of date in their notions; and they may see the cities which prided themselves on this fancy confuted
9 by facts. True, there is little courage shown in seeking for safety behind a rampart when an enemy is similar in character and not much superior in number; but the superiority of the besiegers may be and often is beyond the power of men to resist, and too much for the valour of a few; and if they are to be saved and to escape defeat
a. and outrage, the strongest wall will be the best defence of the warrior, more especially now that catapults and siege engines have been brought to such perfection.
10 To have no walls would be as foolish as to choose a site for a town in an exposed country, and to level the heights; or as if an individual were to leave his house
11 unwalled, lest the inmates should become cowards. Nor must we forget that those who have their cities surrounded by walls may either take advantage of them or not, but cities which are unwalled have no choice.

Yes; and the walls may be made ornamental as well as useful.

If our conclusions are just, not only should cities have walls, but care should be taken to make them ornamental, as well as useful for warlike purposes, and
12 adapted to resist modern inventions. For as the assailants of a city do all they can to gain an advantage, so the defenders should make use of any means of defence which have been already discovered, and should devise and invent others, for when men are well prepared no enemy even thinks of attacking them.

[a] Cp. Plato Laws vi. 778, 779.

VII. 12. The guardhouses will serve for Syssitia.

As the walls are to be divided by guardhouses and towers built at suitable intervals, and the body of citizens must be distributed at common tables, the idea will naturally occur that we should establish some of the common tables in the guardhouses. The arrangement might be as follows: the principal common tables of the magistrates will occupy a suitable place, and there also will be the buildings appropriated to religious worship except in the case of those rites which the law or the Pythian oracle has restricted to a special locality[a]. The site should be a spot seen far and wide, which gives due elevation to virtue and towers over the neighbourhood. Near this spot should be established an agora, such as that which the Thessalians call the 'freemen's agora;' from this all trade should be excluded, and no mechanic, husbandman, or any such person allowed to enter, unless he be summoned by the magistrates. It would be a charming use of the place, if the gymnastic exercises of the elder men were performed there. For [b]in this noble practice different ages should be separated[b], and some of the magistrates should stay with the boys, while the grown-up men remain with the magistrates [i.e. in the freeman's agora]; for the presence of the magistrates is the best mode of inspiring true modesty and ingenuous fear. There should also be a traders' agora, distinct and apart from the other, in a situation which is convenient for the reception of goods both by sea and land.

The temples and government buildings should be 'high and lifted up.'

The freemen's agora.

The traders' agora.

But in speaking of the magistrates we must not forget another section of the citizens, viz. the priests, for whom public tables should likewise be provided in their proper place near the temples. The magistrates who deal with contracts, indictments, summonses, and the like, and those who have the care of the agora and of the city respectively, ought to be established near the agora and in some public place of meeting; the neighbourhood of the

The government offices.

[a] Cp. Plato Laws vi. 778; viii. 848; v. 738; vi. 759.

[b] Or, 'this institution should be divided according to ages.'

traders' agora will be a suitable spot; the upper agora we devote to the life of leisure, the other is intended for the necessities of trade. VII. 12.

8 The same order should prevail[a] in the country, for there too the magistrates, called by some 'Inspectors of Forests,' and by others 'Wardens of the Country,' must have guardhouses and common tables while they are on duty; temples should also be scattered throughout the country, dedicated, some to Gods, and some to heroes. Similar arrangements in the country.

9 But it would be a waste of time for us to linger over details like these. The difficulty is not in imagining but in carrying them out. We may talk about them as much as we like, but the execution of them will depend upon fortune. Wherefore let us say no more about these matters for the present.

Returning to the constitution itself, let us seek to determine out of what and what sort of elements the state which is to be happy and well-governed should be composed. There are two things in which all well-being consists, one of them is the choice of a right end and aim of action, and the other the discovery of the actions which are means towards it; for the means and the end may agree or disagree. Sometimes the right end is set before men, but in practice they fail to attain it; in other cases they are successful in all the means, but they propose to themselves a bad end, and sometimes they fail in both. Take, for example, the art of medicine; physicians do not always understand the nature of health, and also the means which they use may not effect the desired end. In all arts and sciences both the end and the means should be equally within our control. 13. The well-being of the state depends upon the choice of a good end and of good means for the attainment of it.

3 The happiness and well-being which all men manifestly desire, some have the power of attaining, but to others, from some accident or defect of nature, the attainment of them is not granted; for a good life 1332a. requires a supply of external goods, in a less degree

[a] Reading *νενεμῆσθαι* with Bekker's first edition.

VII. 13. when men are in a good state, in a greater degree when they are in a lower state. Others again, who 4
possess the condition of happiness, go utterly wrong from the first in the pursuit of it. But since our object is to discover the best form of government, that, namely, under which a city will be best governed, and since the city is best governed which has the greatest opportunity of obtaining happiness, it is evident that we must clearly ascertain the nature of happiness.

We have said in the Ethics[a], if the arguments there 5
adduced are of any value, that happiness is the realization and perfect exercise of virtue, and this not conditional, but absolute. And I used the term 'conditional' 6
to express that which is indispensable, and 'absolute' to express that which is good in itself. Take the case of just actions; just punishments and chastisements do indeed spring from a good principle, but they are good only because we cannot do without them—it would be better that neither individuals nor states should need anything of the sort—but actions which aim at honour and advantage are absolutely the best. The conditional action 7
Absolute and relative good.
is only the choice[b] of a lesser evil; whereas these are the foundation and creation of good. A good man may make the best even of poverty and disease, and the other ills of life; but he can only attain happiness under the opposite conditions[c]. As we have already said in the Ethics[d], the good man is he to whom, because he is virtuous, the absolute good is his good. It is also plain that his use of other goods must be 8
External goods the condition not the cause of happiness.
virtuous and in the absolute sense good. This makes men fancy that external goods are the cause of happiness, yet we might as well say that a brilliant performance on the lyre was to be attributed to the instrument and not to the skill of the performer.

[a] Cp. Nic. Eth. i. 7. § 15; x. 6. § 2; and cp. c. 8. § 5, supra.
[b] Retaining the MSS. reading αἵρεσις with Bekker's first edition.
[c] Nic. Eth. i. c. 10. § 12–14.
[d] Nic. Eth. iii. c. 4. §§ 4, 5; E. E. vii. 15. § 4; M. M. ii. 9. § 3.

It follows then from what has been said that some VII. 13.
things the legislator must find ready to his hand in a state, others he must provide. And therefore we can only say: May our state be constituted in such a manner as to be blessed with the goods of which fortune disposes (for we acknowledge her power): whereas virtue and goodness in the state are not a matter of chance but the result of knowledge and purpose.) A city can be virtuous only when the citizens who have a share in the government are virtuous, and in our state all the citizens share in the government; let us then enquire how a man becomes virtuous. For even if we could suppose all the citizens to be virtuous, and not each of them, yet the latter would be better, for in the virtue of each the virtue of all is involved.

They depend on fortune; virtue on will.

There are three things which make men good and 11 virtuous: these are nature, habit, reason[a]. In the first place, every one must be born a man and not some other animal; in the second place, he must have a certain character, both of body and soul. But some qualities 12b. there is no use in having at birth, for they are altered by habit, and there are some gifts of nature which may 12 be turned by habit to good or bad. Most animals lead a life of nature, although in lesser particulars some are influenced by habit as well. Man has reason, in addition, and man only[b]. Wherefore nature, habit, reason must be in harmony with one another; [for they do not always agree]; men do many things against habit and nature, if reason persuades them that they ought. 13 We have already determined what natures are likely to be most easily moulded by the hands of the legislator[c]. All else is the work of education; we learn some things by habit and some by instruction.

Three elements of virtue: (1) nature; (2) habit; (3) reason.

Since every political society is composed of rulers and 14.
subjects, let us consider whether the relations of one to the other should interchange or be permanent[d]. For

[a] Cp. N. Eth. x. 9. § 6.
[b] Cp. i. 2. § 10.
[c] Cp. supra, c. 7. § 4.
[d] Cp. iii. 6. § 9.

VII. 14. the education of the citizens will necessarily vary with
Are rulers and ruled to interchange?
the answer given to this question. Now, if some men 2
excelled others in the same degree in which gods and
heroes are supposed to excel mankind in general, having
in the first place a great advantage even in their bodies,
and secondly in their minds, so that the superiority of
the governors [a] over their subjects was patent and undisputed [a], it would clearly be better that once for all
the one class should rule and the others serve [b]. But 3
since this is unattainable, and kings have no marked
superiority over their subjects, such as Scylax affirms to
be found among the Indians, it is obviously necessary
on many grounds that all the citizens alike should take
their turn of governing and being governed. Equality
consists in the same treatment of similar persons, and
no government can stand which is not founded upon
justice. For [if the government be unjust] every one 4
in the country unites with the governed in the desire
to have a revolution, and it is an impossibility that the
members of the government can be so numerous as to
be stronger than all their enemies put together. Yet
that governors should excel their subjects is undeniable.
How all this is to be effected, and in what way they
will respectively share in the government, the legislator
has to consider. The subject has been already men-
No and yes; they are to be the same persons, but at different times of life.
tioned [c]. Nature herself has given the principle of choice 5
when she made a difference between old and young
(though they are really the same in kind), of whom she
fitted the one to govern and the others to be governed.
No one takes offence at being governed when he is young,
nor does he think himself better than his governors,
especially if he will enjoy the same privilege when he
reaches the required age.

We conclude that from one point of view governors and 6
governed are identical, and from another different. And

[a] Or, taking τοῖς ἀρχομένοις with φανερὰν, 'was undisputed and patent to their subjects.'

[b] Cp. i. 5. § 8; iii. 13. § 13.

[c] Cp. c. 9. § 5.

therefore their education must be the same and also different. For he who would learn to command well must, as men say, first of all learn to obey[a]. As I observed in the first part of this treatise, there is one rule which is for the sake of the rulers and another rule which is
7 for the sake of the ruled[b]; the former is a despotic, the latter a free government. Some commands differ not in the thing commanded, but in the intention with which they are imposed. Wherefore, many apparently menial offices are an honour to the free youth by whom they are performed; for actions do not differ as honourable or dishonourable in themselves so much as in the end and intention of them. But since we say[c] that the virtue of the citizen and ruler is the same as that of the good man, and that the same person must first be a subject and then a ruler, the legislator has to see that they become good men, and by what means this may be accomplished, and what is the end of the perfect life.

VII. 14.

Hence their education must be the same yet different.

Service may be honourable and a preparation for command.

9 Now the soul of man is divided into two parts, one of which has reason in itself, and the other, not having reason in itself, is able to obey reason[d]. And we call a man good because he has the virtues of these two parts. In which of them the end is more likely to be found is no matter of doubt to those who adopt our
10 division; for in the world both of nature and of art the inferior always exists for the sake of the better or superior, and the better or superior is that which has reason. The reason too, in our ordinary way of speaking, is divided into two parts, for there is a practical and a
11 speculative reason[e], and there must be a corresponding division of actions; the actions of the naturally better principle are to be preferred by those who have it in their power to attain to both or to all, for that is always to every one the most eligible which is the highest
12 attainable by him. The whole of life is further divided

Two parts of the soul, the lower and the higher; the end is to be sought in the higher.

[a] Cp. iii. 4. § 14. [b] Cp. iii. 6. § 6.
[c] Cp. iii. 4. and 5. § 10. [d] Cp. Nic. Eth. i. 13. §§ 18, 19.
[e] Cp. Nic. Eth. vi. 1. § 5: 11. § 4.

VII. 14. into two parts, business and leisure[a], war and peace, and all actions into those which are necessary and useful, and those which are honourable. And the preference given to one or the other class of actions must necessarily be like the preference given to one or other part of the soul and its actions over the other; there must be war for the sake of peace, business for the sake of leisure, things useful and necessary for the sake of things honourable. All these points the statesman should keep in view when he frames his laws; he should consider the parts of the soul and their functions, and above all the better and the end; he should also remember the diversities of human lives and actions. For men must engage in business and go to war, but leisure 1333b. and peace are better; they must do what is necessary and useful, but what is honourable is better. In such principles children and persons of every age which requires education should be trained. Whereas even the Hellenes of the present day, who are reputed to be best governed, and the legislators who gave them their constitutions, do not appear to have framed their governments with a regard to the best end, or to have given them laws and education with a view to all the virtues, but in a vulgar spirit have fallen back on those which promised to be more useful and profitable. Many modern writers have taken a similar view: they commend the Lacedaemonian constitution, and praise the legislator for making conquest and war his sole aim[b], a doctrine which may be refuted by argument and has long ago been refuted by facts. For most men desire empire in the hope of accumulating the goods of fortune; and on this ground Thibron and all those who have written about the Lacedaemonian constitution have praised their legislator, because the Lacedaemonians, by a training in hardships, gained great power. But surely they are not a happy people now that their empire has

13 14 15 16 17 18

Hence there are two classes of actions and two corresponding kinds of education, a higher and a lower.

[a] N. E. x. 7. § 6. [b] Plato Laws i. 628, 638.

passed away, nor was their legislator right. How ridiculous is the result, if, while they are continuing in the observance of his laws and no one interferes with them, they have lost the better part of life. These writers further err about the sort of government which the legislator should approve, for the government of freemen is noble, and implies more virtue than despotic government[a]. Neither is a city to be deemed happy or a legislator to be praised because he trains his citizens to conquer and obtain dominion over their neighbours, for there is great evil in this. On a similar principle any citizen who could, would obviously try to obtain the power in his own state,—the crime which the Lacedaemonians accuse king Pausanias of attempting[b], although he had so great honour already. No such principle and no law having this object is either statesmanlike or useful or right. For the same things are best both for individuals and for states, and these are the things which the legislator ought to implant in the minds of his citizens. Neither should men study war with a view to the enslavement of those who do not deserve to be enslaved; but first of all they should provide against their own enslavement, and in the second place obtain empire for the good of the governed, and not for the sake of exercising a general despotism, and in the third place they should seek to be masters only over those who deserve to be slaves. Facts, as well as arguments, prove that the legislator should direct all his military and other measures to the provision of leisure and the establishment of peace. For most of these military states are safe only while they are at war[c], but fall when they have acquired their empire; like unused iron they rust[d] in time of peace. And for this the legislator is to blame, he never having taught them how to lead the life of peace.

VII. 14.

Failure of the Spartan system.

War and conquest are not the end of man's existence.

The military ideal useless in peace.

[a] Cp. i. 5. § 2. [b] Cp. v. 1. § 10; 7. § 4. [c] Cp. ii. 9. § 34.
[d] *Lit.* 'they lose their edge.'

VII. 15. Since the end of individuals and of states is the same, the end of the best man and of the best state must also be the same; it is therefore evident that there ought to exist in both of them the virtues of leisure; for peace, as has been often repeated, is the end of war, and leisure of toil. But leisure and cultivation may be promoted, 2 not only by those virtues which are practised in leisure, but also by some of those which are useful to business[a]. For many necessaries of life have to be supplied before we can have leisure. Therefore a city must be temperate and brave, and able to endure: for truly, as the proverb says, 'There is no leisure for slaves,' and those who cannot face danger like men are the slaves of any invader. Courage and endurance are required for business and 3 philosophy for leisure, temperance and justice for both, more especially in times of peace and leisure, for war compels men to be just and temperate, whereas the enjoyment of good fortune and the leisure which comes with peace tends to make them insolent. Those then, 4 who seem to be the best-off and to be in the possession of every good, have special need of justice and temperance,—for example, those (if such there be, as the poets say) who dwell in the Islands of the Blest; they above all will need philosophy and temperance and justice, and all the more the more leisure they have, living in the midst of abundance. There is no difficulty in seeing 5 why the state that would be happy and good ought to have these virtues. If it be disgraceful in men not to be able to use the goods of life, it is peculiarly disgraceful not to be able to use them in time of peace,—to show excellent qualities in action and war, and when they have peace and leisure to be no better than slaves. Wherefore we should not practise virtue after the 6 manner of the Lacedaemonians[b]. For they, while agreeing with other men in their conception of the highest 1334 b. goods, differ from the rest of mankind in thinking that

War is for the sake of peace; the virtues of business and leisure are alike necessary, and leisure is the crown of toil.

Dangers of prosperity.

[a] i. e. 'not only by some of the speculative but also by some of the practical virtues.'

[b] Cp. ii. 9. § 34.

they are to be obtained by the practice of a single virtue. And since these goods and the enjoyment of them are clearly greater than the enjoyment derived from the virtues of which they are the end, we must now consider how and by what means they are to be attained. VII. 15.

7 We have already determined that nature and habit and reason are required[a], and what should be the character of the citizens has also been defined by us. But we have still to consider whether the training of early life is to be that of reason or habit, for these two must accord, and when in accord they will then form the best of harmonies. Reason may make mistakes and fail in attaining the highest ideal of life, [b]and there may be 8 a like evil influence of habit[b]. Thus much is clear in the first place, that, as in all other things, birth implies some antecedent principle, and that the end of anything has a beginning in some former end. Now, in men reason and mind are the end towards which nature strives, so that the birth and moral discipline of the 9 citizens ought to be ordered with a view to them. In the second place, as the soul and body are two, we see also that there are two parts of the soul, the rational and the irrational[c], and two corresponding states—reason and appetite. And as the body is prior in order of generation to the soul, so the irrational is prior to the 10 rational. The proof is that anger and will and desire are implanted in children from their very birth, but reason and understanding are developed as they grow older. Wherefore, the care of the body ought to precede that of the soul, and the training of the appetitive part should follow: none the less our care of it must be for the sake of the reason, and our care of the body for the sake of the soul[d].

The education of the body precedes that of the mind.

[a] Cp. 13. § 12.

[b] Or, 'and yet a man may be trained by habit as if the reason had not so erred.'

[c] Cp. N. Eth. i. 13. § 9 ff.

[d] Cp. Plato Rep. iii. 410.

VII. 16. Since the legislator should begin by considering how
The education before birth. the frames of the children whom he is rearing may be as good as possible, his first care will be about marriage—at what age should his citizens marry, and who are fit to
The proper age for marriage. marry? In legislating on this subject he ought to consider the persons and their relative ages, that there may be no disproportion in them, and that they may not differ in their bodily powers, as will be the case if the man is still able to beget children while the woman is unable to bear them, or the woman able to bear while the man is unable to beget, for from these causes arise quarrels and differences between married persons. Secondly, he must consider the time at which the children will succeed to their parents; there ought not to be too great an interval of age, for then the parents will be too old to derive any pleasure from their affection, or to be of any use to them. Nor ought they to be too nearly of an age; to youthful marriages there are many objections—the children will be wanting in respect to the parents, who will seem to be their contemporaries, and disputes will arise in the management of the household. Thirdly, and this is the point from which we digressed, the legislator must mould to his will the frames of newly-born children. Almost all these objects may be secured by attention to one point. Since the time of generation is commonly limited within the age of seventy years in the case of a man, and of fifty in the case of a woman, the commencement of the union should conform
When procreation should begin. to these periods. The union of male and female when too young is bad for the procreation of children; in all other animals the offspring of the young are small and ill-developed, and generally of the female sex, and therefore also in man, as is proved by the fact that in those cities in which men and women are accustomed to marry young, the people are small and weak; in childbirth also younger women suffer more, and more of them die; some persons say that this was the meaning of the response once given to the Troezenians—['Shear not the

young field,']—the oracle really meant that many died VII. 16.
because they married too young; it had nothing to do
8 with the ingathering of the harvest. It also conduces
to temperance not to marry too soon; for women who
marry early are apt to be wanton; and in men too the
bodily frame is stunted if they marry while they are
growing (for there is a time when the growth of the body
9 ceases). Women should marry when they are about
eighteen years of age, and men at seven and thirty[a];
then they are in the prime of life, and the decline in the
10 powers of both will coincide. Further, the children, if
their birth takes place at the time that may reasonably be
expected, will succeed in their prime, when the fathers
are already in the decline of life, and have nearly reached
their term of three-score years and ten.

Thus much of the age proper for marriage: the season of The season of the year.
the year should also be considered; according to our pre-
sent custom, people generally limit marriage to the season
11 of winter, and they are right. The precepts of physicians
and natural philosophers about generation should also
be studied by the parents themselves; the physicians
give good advice about the right age of the body, and
35b. the natural philosophers about the winds; of which they
prefer the north to the south.

12 What constitution in the parent is most advantageous The constitution of the parents.
to the offspring is a subject which we will hereafter
consider when we speak of the education of children,
and we will only make a few general remarks at present.
The temperament of an athlete is not suited to the life of a
citizen, or to health, or to the procreation of children, any
more than the valetudinarian or exhausted constitution
13 but one which is in a mean between them. A man's
constitution should be inured to labour, but not to labour
which is excessive or of one sort only, such as is practised
by athletes; he should be capable of all the actions of a
freeman. These remarks apply equally to both parents.

[a] Omitting ἢ μικρόν.

VII. 16 Care of pregnant women.

Women who are with child should be careful of themselves; they should take exercise and have a nourishing diet. The first of these prescriptions the legislator will easily carry into effect by requiring that they shall take a walk daily to some temple, where they can worship the gods who preside over birth[a]. Their minds, however, unlike their bodies, they ought to keep unexercised, for the offspring derive their natures from their mothers as plants do from the earth. 14

Regulations as to exposure of infants.

As to the exposure and rearing of children, let there be a law that no deformed child shall live, but where there are too many (for in our state population has a limit), when couples have children in excess, and the state of feeling is averse to the exposure of offspring, let abortion be procured before sense and life have begun; what may or may not be lawfully done in these cases depends on the question of life and sensation. 15

Abortion.

When procreation should cease.

And now, having determined at what ages men and women are to begin their union, let us also determine how long they shall continue to beget and bear offspring for the state[b]; men who are too old, like men who are too young, produce children who are defective in body and mind; the children of very old men are weakly. The limit, then, should be the age which is the prime of their intelligence, and this in most persons, according to the notion of some poets who measure life by periods of seven years, is about fifty[c]; at four or five years later, they should cease from having families; and from that time forward only cohabit with one another for the sake of health, or for some similar reason. 16 17

Laws about adultery.

As to adultery, let it be held disgraceful for any man or woman to be unfaithful when they are married, and called husband and wife. If during the time of bearing children anything of the sort occur, let the guilty person be punished with a loss of privileges in proportion to the offence[d]. 18 1336a

[a] Cp. Plato Laws vii. 789.
[b] λειτουργεῖν.
[c] Cp. Solon Fragm. 25 Bergk.
[d] Cp. Laws viii. 841.

After the children have been born, the manner of VII. 17.
rearing them may be supposed to have a great effect Young children should be healthy and hardy.
on their bodily strength. It would appear from the
example of animals, and of those nations who desire to
create the military habit, that the food which has most Their food,
milk in it is best suited to human beings; but the less
2 wine the better, if they would escape diseases. Also all
the motions to which children can be subjected at their exercise,
early age are very useful. But in order to preserve
their tender limbs from distortion, some nations have had
recourse to mechanical appliances which straighten their
bodies. To accustom children to the cold from their
earliest years is also an excellent practice, which greatly
conduces to health, and hardens them for military ser-
3 vice. Hence many barbarians have a custom of plunging
their children at birth into a cold stream; others, like clothing,
the Celts, clothe them in a light wrapper only. For
human nature should be early habituated to endure all
which by habit it can be made to endure; but the pro-
cess must be gradual. And children, from their natural
warmth, may be easily trained to bear cold. Such care
4 should attend them in the first stage of life.

The next period lasts to the age of five; during this
no demand should be made upon the child for study or
labour, lest its growth be impeded; and there should
be sufficient motion to prevent the limbs from being
inactive. This can be secured, among other ways, by
5 amusement, but the amusement should not be vulgar amuse-
ments,
or tiring or riotous. The Directors of Education, as
they are termed, should be careful what tales or stories tales and stories,
the children hear[a], for the sports of children are designed
to prepare the way for the business of later life, and
should be for the most part imitations of the occupa-
tions which they will hereafter pursue in earnest[b].
6 Those are wrong who [like Plato] in the Laws attempt screams,
to check the loud crying and screaming of children, for [Plato criticized.]

[a] Plato Rep. ii. 377 ff. [b] Plato Laws i. 643; vii. 799.

VII. 17 these contribute towards their growth, and, in a manner, exercise their bodies[a]. Straining the voice has an effect similar to that produced by the retention of the breath in violent exertions. Besides other duties, the Directors of 7
They should live at home, but not be left to slaves.
Education should have an eye to their bringing up, and should take care that they are left as little as possible with slaves. For until they are seven years old they must live at home; and therefore, even at this early age, all that is mean and low should be banished from their sight and hearing. Indeed, there is nothing which the 8 legislator should be more careful to drive away than indecency of speech; for the light utterance of shameful words is akin to shameful actions. The young especially should never be allowed to repeat or hear anything of the sort. A freeman who is found saying or doing what is 9 forbidden, if he be too young as yet to have the privilege of a place at the public tables, should be disgraced and beaten, and an elder person degraded as his slavish conduct deserves. And since we do not allow improper language, clearly we should also banish pictures or tales which are indecent. Let the rulers take care that there 10 be no image or picture representing unseemly actions, except in the temples of those Gods at whose festivals the law permits even ribaldry, and whom the law also permits to be worshipped by persons of mature age on behalf of themselves, their children, and their wives. But the legislator should not allow youth to be hearers 11 of satirical Iambic verses or spectators of comedy until they are of an age to sit at the public tables and to drink strong wine; by that time education will have armed them against the evil influences of such representations.

They should neither see nor hear what is indecent, and should not be taken to certain religious ceremonies, or to comic spectacles.

We have made these remarks in a cursory manner,— 12 they are enough for the present occasion; but hereafter[b] we will return to the subject and after a fuller discussion determine whether such liberty should or should not be granted, and in what way granted, if at all.

[a] Plato Laws vii. 792.

[b] Unfulfilled promise (?), but cp. viii. c. 5. § 21.

13 Theodorus, the tragic actor, was quite right in saying VII. 17.
that he would not allow any other actor, not even if he were quite second-rate, to enter before himself, because the spectators grew fond of the voices which they first heard. And the same principle of association applies universally to things as well as persons, for we always
14 like best whatever comes first. And therefore youth should be kept strangers to all that is bad, and especially to things which suggest vice or hate. When the five years have passed away, during the two following years they must look on at the pursuits which they are here-
15 after to learn. There are two periods of life into which education has to be divided, from seven to the age of puberty, and onwards to the age of one and twenty.

Early associations are strongest.

1337 a. [The poets] who divide ages by sevens[a] are not always right[b]: we should rather adhere to the divisions actually made by nature; for the deficiencies of nature are what art and education seek to fill up.

The division of life by sevens.

16 Let us then first enquire if any regulations are to be laid down about children, and secondly, whether the care of them should be the concern of the state or of private individuals, which latter is in our own day the common custom, and in the third place, what these regulations should be.

[a] Cp. supra, c. 16. § 17.

[b] Reading *οὐ καλῶς*, with the MSS. and Bekker's first edition: or, reading *οὐ κακῶς*, a conjecture of Muretus, which Bekker has adopted in his second edition, 'are in the main right; but we should also observe, etc.'

BOOK VIII.

VIII. 1. Education relative to the form of government.

NO one will doubt that the legislator should direct his attention above all to the education of youth, or that the neglect of education does harm to states. The citizen should be moulded ~~to suit the form of government under~~ which he lives[a]. For each government has a peculiar character which originally formed and which continues to preserve it. The character of democracy creates democracy, and the character of oligarchy creates oligarchy; and always the better the character, the better the government.

Now for the exercise of any faculty or art a previous training and habituation are required; clearly therefore for the practice of virtue. And since the whole city has one end, it is manifest that education should be one and the same for all, and that it should be public, and not private,—not as at present, when every one looks after his own children separately, and gives them separate instruction of the sort which he thinks best; the training in things which are of common interest should be the same for all. Neither must we suppose that any one of the citizens belongs to himself, for they all belong to the state, and are each of them a part of the state, and the care of each part is inseparable from the care of the whole. In this particular the Lacedaemonians are to be praised, for they take the greatest pains about their children, and make education the business of the state[b].

It should be public, the same for all, and tending to promote the good of all.

2. What is to be taught?

That education should be regulated by law and should be an affair of state is not to be denied, but what should be the character of this public education, and how young

[a] Cp. v. 9. §§ 11–16. [b] Cp. Nic. Eth. x. 9. § 13.

persons should be educated, are questions which remain to be considered. For mankind are by no means agreed about the things to be taught, whether we look to virtue or the best life. Neither is it clear whether education is more concerned with intellectual or with moral virtue. The existing practice is perplexing; no one knows on what principle we should proceed—should the useful in life, or should virtue, or should the higher knowledge, be the aim of our training; all three opinions have been entertained. Again, about the means there is no agreement; for different persons, starting with different ideas about the nature of virtue, naturally disagree about the practice of it. There can be no doubt that children should be taught those useful things which are really necessary, but not all things; for occupations are divided into liberal and illiberal; and to young children should be imparted only such kinds of knowledge as will be useful to them without vulgarizing them. And any occupation, art, or science, which makes the body or soul or mind of the freeman less fit for the practice or exercise of virtue, is vulgar; wherefore we call those arts vulgar which tend to deform the body, and likewise all paid employments, for they absorb and degrade the mind. There are also some liberal arts quite proper for a freeman to acquire, but only in a certain degree, and if he attend to them too closely, in order to attain perfection in them, the same evil effects will follow. The object also which a man sets before him makes a great difference; if he does or learns anything for his own sake[a] or for the sake of his friends, or with a view to excellence, the action will not appear illiberal; but if done for the sake of others, the very same action will be thought menial and servile. The received subjects of instruction, as I have already remarked[b], are partly of a liberal and partly of an illiberal character.

VIII. 2. Conflicting theories.

Some useful things should be taught,

and some liberal arts should only be carried to a certain extent.

3. The received education.

The customary branches of education are in number four; they are—(1) reading and writing, (2) gymnastic exercises, (3) music, to which is sometimes added (4) drawing. Of

[a] Cp. iii. 4. § 13.

[b] § 3 supra.

VIII. 3. these, reading and writing and drawing are regarded as useful for the purposes of life in a variety of ways, and gymnastic exercises are thought to infuse courage. Concerning music a doubt may be raised—in our own day most men cultivate it for the sake of pleasure, but originally it was included in education, because nature herself, as has been often said, requires that we should be able, not only to work well, but to use leisure well; for, as I must repeat once and again[a], the first principle of all action is leisure. Both are required, but leisure is better than occupation; and therefore the question must be asked in good earnest, what ought we to do when at leisure? Clearly we ought not to be amusing ourselves, for then amusement would be the end of life. But if this is inconceivable, and yet amid serious occupations amusement is needed more than at other times (for he who is hard at work has need of relaxation, and amusement gives relaxation, whereas occupation is always accompanied with exertion and effort), at suitable times we should introduce amusements, and they should be our medicines, for the emotion which they create in the soul is a relaxation, and from the pleasure we obtain rest. Leisure of itself gives pleasure and happiness and enjoyment of life, which are experienced, not by the busy man, but by those who have leisure. For he who is occupied has in view some end which he has not attained; but happiness is an end which all men deem to be accompanied with pleasure and not with pain. This pleasure, however, is regarded differently by different persons, and varies according to the habit of individuals; the pleasure of the best man is the best, and springs from the noblest sources. It is clear then that there are branches of learning and education which we must study with a view to the enjoyment of leisure, and these are to be valued for their own sake; whereas those kinds of knowledge which are useful in business are to be deemed necessary,

Music is not directly useful for the business of life, but for relaxation and intellectual enjoyment in leisure.

1338

[a] As in vii. 15. §§ 1, 2, and N. Eth. x. 6.

7 and exist for the sake of other things. And therefore VIII. 3.
our fathers admitted music into education, not on the ground either of its necessity or utility, for it is not necessary, nor indeed useful in the same manner as reading and writing, which are useful in money-making, in the management of a household, in the acquisition of knowledge and in political life, nor like drawing, useful for a more correct judgment of the works of artists, nor again like gymnastic, which gives health and strength; for
8 neither of these is to be gained from music. There remains, then, the use of music for intellectual enjoyment in leisure; which appears to have been the reason of its introduction, this being one of the ways in which it is thought that a freeman should pass his leisure; as Homer says—

'How good is it to invite men to the pleasant feast[a],'

9 and afterwards he speaks of others whom he describes as inviting

'The bard who would delight them all[b].'

And in another place Odysseus says there is no better way of passing life than when

'Men's hearts are merry and the banqueters in the hall, sitting in order, hear the voice of the minstrel[c].'

10 It is evident, then, that there is a sort of education in which parents should train their sons, not as being useful or necessary, but because it is liberal or noble. Whether this is of one kind only, or of more than one, and if so, what they are, and how they are to be imparted,
11 must hereafter be determined. Thus much we are now in a position to say that the ancients witness to us; for their opinion may be gathered from the fact that music is one of the received and traditional branches of education. Further, it is clear that children should be

It is therefore part of a liberal education.

[a] Or, 'to invite Thalia to the feast,' an interpretation of the passage possibly intended by Aristotle, though of course not the original meaning.

[b] Od. xvii. 385.

[c] Od. ix. 7.

VIII. 3. Reading, writing, and drawing should also have a liberal end.

instructed in some useful things,—for example, in reading and writing,—not only for their usefulness, but also because many other sorts of knowledge are acquired through them. With a like view they may be taught 12
drawing, not to prevent their making mistakes in their own purchases, or in order that they may not be imposed upon in the buying or selling of articles, but rather 1338 b
because it makes them judges of the beauty of the human form. To be always seeking after the useful does not become free and exalted souls[a]. Now it is clear 13
that in education habit must go before reason, and the body before the mind; and therefore boys should be handed over to the trainer, who creates in them the proper habit of body, and to the wrestling-master, who teaches them their exercises.

In education the body goes before the mind; the habits before the reason.

4. Athletic training injurious; the Lacedaemonians avoid this error, but mistake roughness for courage. Even on their own ground they are now beaten,

Of those states which in our own day seem to take the greatest care of children, some aim at producing in them an athletic habit, but they only injure their forms and stunt their growth. Although the Lacedaemonians have not fallen into this mistake, yet they brutalize their children by laborious exercises which they think will make them courageous. But in truth, as we have often re- 2
peated, education should not be exclusively directed to this or to any other single end. And even if we suppose the Lacedaemonians to be right in their end, they do not attain it. For among barbarians and among animals courage is found associated, not with the greatest ferocity, but with a gentle and lion-like temper. There 3
are many races who are ready enough to kill and eat men, such as the Achaeans and Heniochi, who both live about the Black Sea[b]; and there are other inland tribes, as bad or worse, who all live by plunder, but have no courage. It is notorious that the Lacedaemonians, while 4
they were themselves assiduous in their laborious drill, were superior to others, but now they are beaten both in war and gymnastic exercises. For their ancient supe-

[a] Cp. Plato Rep. vii. 525 ff.

[b] Cp. N. Eth. vii. 5. § 2.

riority did not depend on their mode of training their youth, but only on the circumstance that they trained them at a time when others did not. Hence we may infer that what is noble, not what is brutal, should have the first place; no wolf or other wild animal will face a really noble danger; such dangers are for the brave man[a]. And parents who devote their children to gymnastics while they neglect their necessary education, in reality vulgarize them; for they make them useful to the state in one quality only, and even in this the argument proves them to be inferior to others. We should judge the Lacedaemonians not from what they have been, but from what they are; for now they have rivals who compete with their education; formerly they had none. VIII. 4. and have quite lost their prestige.

It is an admitted principle, that gymnastic exercises should be employed in education, and that for children they should be of a lighter kind, avoiding severe regimen or painful toil, lest the growth of the body be impaired. The evil of excessive training in early years is strikingly proved by the example of the Olympic victors; for not more than two or three of them have gained a prize both as boys and as men; their early training and severe gymnastic exercises exhausted their constitutions. When boyhood is over, three years should be spent in other studies; the period of life which follows may then be devoted to hard exercise and strict regimen. Men ought not to labour at the same time with their minds and with their bodies[b]; for the two kinds of labour are opposed to one another, the labour of the body impedes the mind, and the labour of the mind the body. The young should not be overtasked; and we should not work mind and body at the same time.

Concerning music there are some questions which we have already raised; these we may now resume and carry further; and our remarks will serve as a prelude to this or any other discussion of the subject. It is not easy to determine the nature of music, or why any one should have a knowledge of it, Shall we say, for the sake 5. Music again; why to be studied?

[a] Cp. Nic. Eth. iii. 6. § 8. [b] Cp. Plato Rep. vii. 537 B.

VIII. 5. of amusement and relaxation, like sleep or drinking,
Some say (1) as an amusement; which are not good in themselves, but are pleasant, and at the same time 'make care to cease,' as Euripides[a] says? And therefore men rank them with music, and make use 3
of all three,—sleep[b], drinking, music,—to which some
others (2) because it affects character; add dancing. Or shall we argue that music conduces to virtue, on the ground that it can form our minds and habituate us to true pleasures as our bodies are made by
others (3) because it contributes to the enjoyment of leisure. gymnastic to be of a certain character? Or shall we say 4
that it contributes to the enjoyment of leisure and mental cultivation, which is a third alternative? Now obviously youth are not to be instructed with a view to their amusement, for learning is no pleasure, but is accompanied with pain. Neither is intellectual enjoyment suitable to boys of that age, for it is the end, and that which is imperfect cannot attain the perfect or end. But 5
perhaps it may be said that boys learn music for the sake of the amusement which they will have when they
Need we play and sing ourselves? are grown up. If so, why should they learn themselves, and not, like the Persian and Median kings, enjoy the pleasure and instruction which is derived from hearing others? (for surely skilled persons who have made music 6
the business and profession of their lives will be better performers than those who practise only to learn). If they must learn music, on the same principle they should learn cookery, which is absurd. And even granting that 7
music may form the character, the objection still holds: why should we learn ourselves? Why cannot we attain true pleasure and form a correct judgment from hear- 1339 b.
ing others, like the Lacedaemonians?—for they, without learning music, nevertheless can correctly judge, as they say, of good and bad melodies. Or again, if music 8
should be used to promote cheerfulness and refined intellectual enjoyment, the objection still remains—why should we learn ourselves instead of enjoying the per-

[a] Bacchae, 380.

[b] Reading (with Bekker's 2nd ed.) ὕπνῳ, a correction which seems necessary, and is suggested by ὕπνου καὶ μέθης above.

formances of others? We may illustrate what we are saying by our conception of the Gods; for in the poets Zeus does not himself sing or play on the lyre. Nay, we call professional performers vulgar; no freeman would play or sing unless he were intoxicated or in jest. VIII. 5.

9 But these matters may be left for the present.

The first question is whether music is or is not to be a part of education. Of the three things mentioned in our discussion, which is it?—Education or amusement or intellectual enjoyment, for it may be reckoned under all three, and seems to share in the nature of all of them: Music may be considered (1) an amusement;

10 Amusement is for the sake of relaxation, and relaxation is of necessity sweet, for it is the remedy of pain caused by toil, and intellectual enjoyment is universally acknowledged to contain an element not only of the noble but

11 of the pleasant, for happiness is made up of both. All men agree that music is one of the pleasantest things, whether with or without song; as Musaeus says,

'Song is to mortals of all things the sweetest.'

Hence and with good reason it is introduced into social gatherings and entertainments, because it makes the hearts of men glad: so that on this ground alone we may assume that the young ought to be trained in it.

12 For innocent pleasures are not only in harmony with the perfect end of life, but they also provide relaxation. And whereas men rarely attain the end, but often rest by the way and amuse themselves, not only with a view to some good, but also for the pleasure's sake, it may be well for them at times to find a refreshment in music.

13 It sometimes happens that men make amusement the end, for the end probably contains some element of pleasure, though not any ordinary or lower pleasure; but they mistake the lower for the higher, and in seeking for the one find the other, since every pleasure has a likeness to the end of action[a]. For the end is not eligible, nor do the pleasures which we have described

[a] Cp. N. Eth. vii. 13. § 6.

VIII. 5. exist, for the sake of any future good but of the past, that is to say, they are the alleviation of past toils and pains. And we may infer this to be the reason why men seek happiness from common pleasures. But music is pursued, not only as an alleviation of past toil, but also as providing recreation. And who can say whether, having this use, it may not also have a nobler one? In addition to this common pleasure, felt and shared in by all (for the pleasure given by music is natural, and therefore adapted to all ages and characters), may it not have also some influence over the character and the soul? It must have such an influence if characters are affected by it. And that they are so affected is proved by the power which the songs of Olympus and of many others exercise; for beyond question they inspire enthusiasm, and enthusiasm is an emotion of the ethical part of the soul. Besides, when men hear imitations, even unaccompanied by melody or rhythm, their feelings move in sympathy. Since then music is a pleasure, and virtue consists in rejoicing and loving and hating aright, there is clearly nothing which we are so much concerned to acquire and to cultivate as the power of forming right judgments, and of taking delight in good dispositions and noble actions[a]. Rhythm and melody supply imitations of anger and gentleness, and also of courage and temperance and of virtues and vices in general, which hardly fall short of the actual affections, as we know from our own experience, for in listening to such strains our souls undergo a change. The habit of feeling pleasure or pain at mere representations is not far removed from the same feeling about realities[b]; for example, if any one delights in the sight of a statue for its beauty only, it necessarily follows that the sight of the original will be pleasant to him. No other sense, such as taste or touch, has any resemblance to moral qualities; in sight only there is a little, for figures are to some extent of a moral

14 15 1340a

(a) may be regarded as having an ethical influence,

16 17 18 19 20

more than painting or statuary.

[a] Cp. Plato Rep. iii. 401, 402; Laws ii. 658, 659.
[b] Cp. Plato Rep. iii. 395.

character, and [so far] all participate in the feeling about them. Again, figures and colours are not imitations, but
1 signs of moral habits, indications which the body gives of states of feeling. The connexion of them with morals is slight, but in so far as there is any, young men should be taught to look, not at the works of Pauson, but at those of Polygnotus[a], or any other painter or statuary who expresses moral ideas. On the other hand, even
2 in mere melodies[b] there is an imitation of character, for the musical modes differ essentially from one another, and those who hear them are differently affected by
3 each. Some of them make men sad and grave, like the so-called Mixolydian, others enfeeble the mind, like the relaxed harmonies, others, again, produce a moderate and settled temper, which appears to be the peculiar effect of the Dorian; the Phrygian inspires enthusiasm.
3 The whole subject has been well treated by philosophical writers on this branch of education, and they confirm their arguments by facts. The same principles apply to rhythms[c]: some have a character of rest, others of motion, and of these latter again, some have a more
4 vulgar, others a nobler movement. Enough has been said to show that music has a power of forming the character, and should therefore be introduced into the
5 education of the young. The study is suited to the stage of youth, for young persons will not, if they can help, endure anything which is not sweetened by pleasure, and music has a natural sweetness. There seems to be in us a sort of affinity to harmonies and rhythms, which makes some philosophers say that the soul is a harmony, others, that she possesses harmony.

VIII. 5.

The various melodies

and rhythms have various ethical effects.

6. Should children be taught to sing and play?

And now we have to determine the question which has been already raised[d], whether children should be themselves taught to sing and play or not. Clearly there is a considerable difference made in the character

[a] Cp. Poet. 2. § 2; 6. § 15. [b] Cp. Plato Rep. iii. 398, 399.
[c] Rep. iii. 399 E, 400. [d] c. 5. §§ 5–8.

VIII. 6. by the actual practice of the art. It is difficult, if not impossible, for those who do not perform to be good judges of the performance of others[a]. Besides, children 2
Yes: it enables them to judge, and keeps them out of mischief.
should have something to do, and the rattle of Archytas, which people give to their children in order to amuse them and prevent them from breaking anything in the house, was a capital invention, for a young thing cannot be quiet. The rattle is a toy suited to the infant mind, and [musical] education is a rattle or toy for children of a larger growth. We conclude then that they should 3 be taught music in such a way as to become not only critics but performers.

The question what is or is not suitable for different ages may be easily answered; nor is there any difficulty in meeting the objection of those who say that the study of music is vulgar. We reply (1) in the first place, 4
When grown up they may cease to perform; and they must not become professionals.
that they who are to be judges must also be performers, and that they should begin to practise early, although when they are older they may be spared the execution; they must have learned to appreciate what is good and to delight in it, thanks to the knowledge which they acquired in their youth. As to (2) the vulgarizing effect 5 which music is supposed to exercise, this is a question [of degree], which we shall have no difficulty in determining, when we have considered to what extent freemen who are being trained to political virtue should pursue the art, what melodies and what rhythms they should be allowed to use, and what instruments should 1341a be employed in teaching them to play, for even the instrument makes a difference. The answer to the objection 6 turns upon these distinctions; for it is quite possible that certain methods of teaching and learning music do really have a degrading effect. It is evident then that the learning of music ought not to impede the business of riper years, or to degrade the body or render it unfit for civil or military duties, whether for the early practice or for the later study of them.

[a] Cp. supra, c. 5. § 7.

VIII. 6.

7 The right measure will be attained if students of music stop short of the arts which are practised in professional contests, and do not seek to acquire those fantastic marvels of execution which are now the fashion in such contests, and from these have passed into education. 8 Let the young pursue their studies until they are able to feel delight in noble melodies and rhythms, and not merely in that common part of music in which every slave or child and even some animals find pleasure.

What instruments should be used? not the flute, which is over exciting.

From these principles we may also infer what instruments should be used. 9 The flute, or any other instrument which requires great skill, as for example the harp, ought not to be admitted into education, but only such as will make intelligent students of music or of the other parts of education. Besides, the flute is not an instrument which has a good moral effect; it is too exciting. The proper time for using it is when the performance aims not at instruction, but at the relief of the passions[a]. 10 And there is a further objection; the impediment which the flute presents to the use of the voice detracts from its educational value.

Historical remarks on the use of the flute.

The ancients therefore were right in forbidding the flute to youths 11 and freemen, although they had once allowed it. For when their wealth gave them greater leisure, and they had loftier notions of excellence, being also elated with their success, both before and after the Persian War, with more zeal than discernment they pursued every kind of knowledge, and so they introduced the flute 12 into education. At Lacedaemon there was a Choragus who led the Chorus with a flute, and at Athens the instrument became so popular that most freemen could play upon it. The popularity is shown by the tablet which Thrasippus dedicated when he furnished the Chorus to Ecphantides. Later experience enabled men to judge what was or was not really conducive to 13 virtue, and they rejected both the flute and several other old-fashioned instruments, such as the Lydian

[a] Cp. c. 7. § 3.

VIII. 6. harp, the many-stringed lyre, the 'heptagon,' 'triangle,' 'sambuca,' and the like—which are intended only to give pleasure to the hearer, and require extraordinary skill of hand[a]. There is a meaning also in the myth of the ancients, which tells how Athene invented the flute and then threw it away. It was not a bad idea of theirs, that the Goddess disliked the instrument because it made the face ugly; but with still more reason may we say that she rejected it because the acquirement of flute-playing contributes nothing to the mind, since to Athene we ascribe both knowledge and art.

The myth of Athene throwing away the flute.

The vulgar vulgarise music.

Thus then we reject the professional instruments and also the professional mode of education in music—and by professional we mean that which is adopted in contests, for in this the performer practises the art, not for the sake of his own improvement, but in order to give pleasure, and that of a vulgar sort, to his hearers. For this reason the execution of such music is not the part of a freeman but of a paid performer, and the result is that the performers are vulgarized, for the end at which they aim is bad[b]. The vulgarity of the spectator tends to lower the character of the music and therefore of the performers; they look to him—he makes them what they are, and fashions even their bodies by the movements which he expects them to exhibit.

7. Melodies and rhythms.

We have also to consider rhythms and harmonies. Shall we use them all in education or make a distinction? and shall the distinction be that which is made by those who are engaged in education, or shall it be some other? For we see that music is produced by melody and rhythm, and we ought to know what influence these have respectively on education, and whether we should prefer excellence in melody or excellence in rhythm. But as the subject has been very well treated by many musicians of the present day, and also by philosophers who have had considerable experience of musical education, to these we would refer the more exact student of the

[a] Cp. Plato Rep. iii. 399 D. [b] Cp. Plato Laws iii. 700.

subject; we shall only speak of it now after the manner of the legislator, having regard to general principles. VIII. 7.

Classification of melodies.

3 We accept the division of melodies proposed by certain philosophers into ethical melodies, melodies of action, and passionate or inspiring melodies, each having, as they say, a mode or harmony corresponding to it. But we maintain further that music should be studied, not for the sake of one, but of many benefits, that is to say, with a view to (1) education, (2) purification (the word 'purification' we use at present without explanation, but when hereafter we speak of poetry[a], we will treat the subject with more precision); music may also serve (3) for intellectual enjoyment, for relaxation and
42a. for recreation after exertion. It is clear, therefore, that all the harmonies must be employed by us, but not all of them in the same manner. In education ethical melodies are to be preferred, but we may listen to the melodies of action and passion when they are performed by others. For feelings such as pity and fear, or, again, enthusiasm, exist very strongly in some souls, and have more or less influence over all. Some persons fall into a religious frenzy, whom we see disenthralled by the use of mystic melodies, which bring healing and purification to the soul. Those who are influenced by pity or fear and every emotional nature have a like experience, others in their degree are stirred by something which specially affects them, and all are in a manner purified and their souls lightened and delighted. The melodies of purification likewise give an innocent pleasure to mankind. Such are the harmonies and the melodies in which those who perform music at the theatre should be invited to compete. But since the spectators are of two kinds — the one free and educated, and the other a vulgar crowd composed of mechanics, labourers, and the like—there ought to be contests and exhibitions instituted for the

Ethical melodies to be preferred in education; passionate melodies purify the troubled soul.

Music for the multitude.

[a] Cp. Poet. c. 6, though the promise is really unfulfilled.

VIII. 7. relaxation of the second class also. And the melodies will correspond to their minds; for as their minds are perverted from the natural state, so there are exaggerated and corrupted harmonies which are in like manner a perversion. A man receives pleasure from what is natural to him, and therefore professional musicians may be allowed to practise this lower sort of music before an audience of a lower type. But, for the purposes of education, as I have already said, those modes and melodies should be employed which are ethical, such as the Dorian; though we may include any others which are approved by philosophers who have had a musical education. The Socrates of the Republic[a] is wrong in retaining only the Phrygian mode along with the Dorian, and the more so because he rejects the flute; for the Phrygian is to the modes what the flute is to musical instruments—both of them are exciting and emotional. Poetry proves this, for Bacchic frenzy and all similar emotions are most suitably expressed by the flute, and are better set to the Phrygian than to any other harmony. The dithyramb, for example, is acknowledged to be Phrygian, a fact of which the connoisseurs of music offer many proofs, saying, among other things, that Philoxenus, having attempted to compose his Tales[b] as a dithyramb in the Dorian mode, found it impossible, and fell back into the more appropriate Phrygian. All men agree that the Dorian music is the gravest and manliest. And whereas we say that the extremes should be avoided and the mean followed, and whereas the Dorian is a mean between the other harmonies [the Phrygian and the Lydian[c]], it is evident that our youth should be taught the Dorian music.

The Dorian mode ethical and educational.

Plato is wrong in retaining the Phrygian;

8 9 1342b. 10 11 12

Two principles have to be kept in view, what is possible, what is becoming: at these every man ought to aim. But even these are relative to age; the old, 13

[a] Plato Rep. iii. 399.

[b] Retaining the MS. reading *μύθους*. Cp. Poet. c. 2. § 7.

[c] Cp. c. 5. § 22.

who have lost their powers, cannot very well sing the severe melodies, and nature herself seems to suggest that their songs should be of the more relaxed kind. VIII. 7.

14 Wherefore the musicians likewise blame Socrates, and with justice, for rejecting the relaxed harmonies in education under the idea that they are intoxicating, not in the ordinary sense of intoxication (for wine rather tends to excite men), but because they have no strength in them. And so with a view to a time of life when men begin to grow old, they ought to practise the gentler harmonies

wrong also in altogether rejecting the relaxed harmonies, such as the Lydian.

15 and melodies as well as the others. And if there be any harmony, such as the Lydian, above all others appears to be, which is suited to children of tender age, and possesses the elements both of order and of education, clearly [we ought to use it, for] education should be based upon three principles—the mean, the possible, the becoming, these three.

INDEX.

A.

Abydos, revolution in the government of, v. 6, § 6 ; power of the clubs, ib. §§ 6, 13.

Account, power of calling magistrates to, in Sparta exercised by the Ephors, ii. 9, § 26 ; given by Solon to the people, ib. 12, § 5 ; iii. 11, § 8 ; and justly claimed by them, iii. 11 ; when exercised by all, a mark of democracy, iv. 14, §§ 4–6 ; vi. 2, § 5 ; 4, § 5.

Accountants, vi. 8, § 17.

Achaea [in Peloponnesus] ; treachery of the Achaeans to the Troezenians at the foundation of Sybaris, v. 3, § 11.

Achaea [Pthiotis] ; wars of the Achaeans with the Thessalians, ii. 9, § 3.

Achaeans, the (in Colchis), said to be cannibals, viii. 4, § 3.

Achilles, complaint of, against Agamemnon (Il. ix. 648), quoted, iii. 5, § 9.

Acquisition, the art of, (i) *the natural*, i. 9, § 12 ; 11, §§ 1, 2 ; includes war [in certain cases] and hunting, i. 7, § 5 ; 8, § 12 ; vii. 14, § 21 ; a part of household management, i. 4, § 1 ; 8, §§ 13–15 ; 9, §§ 1–8 ; 10, §§ 1–4 ; 11, § 2 ; has a limit, ib. 8, § 14 ; 9, §§ 13–18 : (ii) *that which is contrary to nature*, including (*a*) exchange which goes beyond the need of life, i. 9, §§ 2–5 ; 10, § 4 ; 11, § 3 ; (*b*) usury, ib. 10, § 4 ; 11, § 3 ; (*c*) trade, ib. 9, § 4 ; 10, § 4 ; 11, § 3 ; (*d*) service for hire, ib. 11, § 3 : (iii) *the intermediate kind*, ib. § 4.

Action, the slave a minister of, i. 4, §§ 4–6 ; 5, § 9 ; the life of,—is it the best ? ii. 6, § 8 ; vii. 2 ; 3.

Actions, divided into a superior and an inferior class, vii. 14, §§ 10–14.

Adamas, aided in the murder of Cotys, v. 10, § 18.

Admiral, office of (at Sparta), ii. 9, § 33.

Adoption, laws of, enacted by Philolaus at Thebes, ii. 12, § 10.

Adultery, punishments for, caused revolutions at Heraclea and Thebes, v. 6, § 15 ; law which should be adopted about, vii. 16, § 18.

Ægina, number of merchant seamen at, iv. 4, § 21 ; plot of Chares to overturn the government, v. 6, § 9.

Ænos, in Thrace, v. 10, § 18.

Æsymnetes, the, or dictators of ancient Hellas, iii. 14, §§ 8–10, 14 ; iv. 10, § 2 ; always received a guard, iii. 15, § 16.

Affection, would be destroyed by communism, ii. 4, §§ 5–9 ; the two qualities which chiefly inspire, ib. § 9.

Agamemnon, iii. 5, § 9 ; 14, § 4 ; 16, § 10.

Age, offices to be divided among the citizens, according to, vii. 9, §§ 4–9 ; 14, §§ 4, 5 ; the poets not (?) right in dividing ages by sevens, ib. 16, § 17 ; 17, § 15 ; propriety of different kinds of music for different ages, viii. 7, §§ 13–15.

Age for gymnastic exercises, the, vii. 12, § 5 ; for marriage, ib. 16, §§ 1–11 ; to sit at the public tables, ib. 17, § 11.

Age, old, tells upon the mind as well as the body, ii. 9, § 25.

Agesilaus, King of Sparta, v. 7, § 3.

Agriculture, the employment followed by the greater part of mankind, i. 8, § 7 ; works upon, ib.

11, § 7; ancient legislation to encourage, vi. 4, §§ 8–10.
Air, pure, necessity of, vii. 11, § 4.
Alcaeus, songs of, against Pittacus, iii. 14, § 10.
Alcyone, mother of Diocles the Corinthian, ii. 12, § 8.
Aleuadae, the, at Larissa, v. 6, § 13.
Aliens, resident, how distinguished from citizens, iii. 1, § 4; obliged to have a patron, ib.; enrolled by Cleisthenes in the tribes, ib. 2, § 3; admitted to citizenship at Syracuse, v. 3, § 13.
All, fallacy in the word, ii. 3, § 3 (cp. vii. 13, § 10).
Alliance, an, how different from a state, ii. 2, § 3; iii. 9, §§ 6-8.
Almsgiving, demoralizing effects of, vi. 5, § 7.
Alternation in office, characteristic of constitutional governments, i. 1, § 2; 12, § 2; ii. 2, §§ 4-7; iii. 4, §§ 10, 14–17; 6, §§ 9, 10; 16, §§ 2, 3; 17, § 4; vi. 2, §§ 2, 5; vii. 14, §§ 1–5.
Amadocus (?king of the Odrysians), conspiracy of Seuthes against, v. 10, § 24.
Amasis, king of Egypt, story of, i. 12, § 2.
Ambassadors, enmities between, fostered by Spartan state policy, ii. 9, § 30; not to be considered magistrates, iv. 15, § 3.
Ambition, a cause of crime, ii. 7, §§ 10–14. 18; 9, § 28; encouraged by the Spartan law-giver, ib. 9, § 28; a motive of revolutions, ii. 7, §§ 10, 18; v. 7, § 4; 10, § 5.
Ambracia, democratical revolution at, and expulsion of the tyrant Periander, v. 3, § 10; 4, § 9; 10, § 16.
Amphipolis, the citizens of, expelled by a Chalcidian colony, v. 3, § 13; 6, § 8.
Amyntas the Little (?father of Philip), conspiracy of Derdas against, v. 10, § 16.
Analysis, the method of knowledge, i. 1, § 3; 2, § 1; 8, § 1.
Anaxilaus, tyranny of, at Rhegium, v. 12, § 13.
Andria, ancient name of the common meals at Sparta, ii. 10, § 5.
Androdamas, of Rhegium, gave certain laws to the Chalcidian cities of Thrace, ii. 12, § 14.
Andros; affair of the Andrians, ii. 9, § 20.
Anger, is insensible to reason, v. 10, § 34; 11, § 31; most bitter against friends who have done a wrong, vii. 7, § 7; exists even in very young children, ib. 15, § 10.
Animals, the, intention of Nature in denying speech to, i. 2, §§ 10–12; under the dominion of man, ib. 5, § 7; tame better than wild, ib.; only differ from slaves in not being able to apprehend reason, ib. § 9; their various modes of life, ib. 8, §§ 4-6; supply their offspring with food in different ways, ib. § 10; created for the sake of man, ib. §§ 9–12; produce offspring resembling their parents, ii. 3, § 9; cannot form a state, iii. 9, § 6; lead a life of nature, not of reason, vii. 13, § 12; the parts of animals an illustration of the parts of the state, iv. 4, §§ 7-9; the offspring of young animals often small and ill-developed, vii. 16, § 6.
Antileon, tyrant at Chalcis, v. 12, § 12.
Antimenides, brother of Alcaeus, iii. 14, § 9.
Antissa, in Lesbos, quarrel at, between the old citizens and the Chian refugees, v. 3, § 12.
Antisthenes, his fable of the lion and the hares, iii. 13, § 14.
Aphrodite, why connected with Ares in mythology, ii. 9, § 8.
Aphytaeans, the (in Pallenè), agrarian legislation among, vi. 4, § 10.
Apollodorus of Lemnos, author of a work on Agriculture, i. 11, § 7.
Apollonia (on the Adriatic), early government of, iv. 4, § 5.
Apollonia (on the Euxine), quarrels at, between the old and new citizens, v. 3, § 13; in the oligarchy, ib. 6, § 9.
Appeal, a court of, allowed by Hippodamus, ii. 8, § 4.

Appetitive principle, the, of the soul, i. 5, § 6; iii. 4, § 6; 16, § 5; vii. 15, §§ 9, 10.
Arbitrator, the judge should not be made into an, ii. 8, § 13; the middle class the arbitrators of the state, iv. 12, § 5.
Arcadia; the Arcadians not distributed (?) into villages, ii. 2, § 3; their wars with the Lacedaemonians, ib. 9, §§ 3, 11.
Archelaus, king of Macedonia, conspiracy of Crataeus and Decamnichus against, v. 10, §§ 17, 20.
Archias, of Thebes, pilloried in the Agora, v. 6, § 15.
Archilochus, quoted, vii. 7, § 6.
Archons, the duties of, vi. 8, § 20; the single Archon at Epidamnus, iii. 16, § 1; v. 1, § 12.
Archytas, of Tarentum, invented the children's rattle, viii. 6, § 2.
Areopagus, the, at Athens (*see* Council of Areopagus).
Ares, why connected with Aphrodite in mythology, ii. 9, § 8.
Argo, the, refused to take Heracles, iii. 13, § 16.
Argos, use of ostracism at, v. 3, § 3; the political changes after 'Hebdome,' ib. 3, § 7; the oligarchical revolution after the battle of Mantinea, ib. 4, § 9; the tyranny of Pheidon, ib. 10, § 6; enmity of the Argives to the Lacedaemonians, ii. 9, §§ 3, 11.
Ariobarzanes, conspiracy of Mithridates against, v. 10, § 25.
Aristocracy, characterized by election for merit, ii. 11, §§ 9, 11; iv. 8, § 7; v. 7, § 1; distinguished from the perfect state, as being a government of men who are only good relatively to the constitution, iv. 7, § 2 (*but* cp. iii. 4, § 5); so called because the best rule or the best interests of the state are consulted, iii. 7, § 3; not a perversion, iv. 8, § 1; analogous to oligarchy (1) because the few rule, v. 7, § 1; (2) because birth and education commonly accompany wealth, iv. 8, § 3;—to royalty as a government of the best, ib. 10, § 2; preferable to royalty, because the good are more than one, iii. 15, § 10; how distinguished from oligarchy and constitutional government, iv. 7; 8; 14, § 10; v. 7, §§ 5-9 (cp. ii. 11, §§ 5-10); usually degenerates into oligarchy, iii. 7, § 5; 15, § 11; iv. 2, § 2; v. 7, § 7; 8, § 7;—causes of revolutions in aristocracies, v. 7; the means of their preservation, ib. 8, §§ 5-7; aristocracy less stable than constitutional government, ib. 7, § 6; liable to danger because the rich have too much power, ib. 12, § 6; might be combined with democracy if the magistrates were unpaid and office open to all, ib. 8, § 17 (cp. vi. 4, § 6);—magistracies peculiar to aristocracy, iv. 15, § 10; vi. 8, §§ 22, 24; aristocratical modes of appointing magistrates and judges, iv. 15, §§ 20, 21; 16, § 8; practice of trying all suits by the same magistrates, aristocratical, ii. 11, § 8; iii. 1, § 10;—the people naturally suited to an aristocracy, iii. 17. §§ 3-7.
Aristogeiton, conspiracy of Harmodius and, v. 10, § 15.
Aristophanes, speech of, in the Symposium, quoted, ii. 4, § 6.
Arrhibaeus, king of the Lyncestians, war of, against Archelaus, v. 10, § 17.
Art, works of, wherein different from realities, iii. 11, § 4.
Artapanes, conspiracy of, against Xerxes, v. 10, § 21.
Artisan, the employments of the, devoid of moral excellence, i. 13, §§ 13, 14; iii. 5, § 5; vi. 4, § 12; vii. 9, §§ 3, 7; artisans sometimes public slaves, ii. 7, § 22; only admitted to office in democracies, iii. 4, § 12; often acquire wealth, ib. 5, § 6; the question whether they are citizens, ib. 5; necessary to the existence of the state, iv. 4, §§ 9, 21; not a part of the state, vii. 4, § 6; should be debarred from the 'Freemen's Agora,' ib. 12, § 3.
Arts, the, require instruments, both living and lifeless, i. 4; some arts subservient to others, ib. 8, § 2;

10, §§ 1–4; the arts have a limit in their means though not in their end, ib. 8, § 14; 9, § 13; both the means and the end ought to be within our control, vii. 13, § 2; amount of knowledge which a freeman is permitted in the arts, i. 11, § 1; viii. 2, § 5; degrees of excellence in them, i. 11, § 6; viii. 2, §§ 5, 6; changes in, advantageous, ii. 8, § 18; iii. 15, § 4; the analogy of, not to be extended to the laws, ii. 8, § 24; iii. 15, § 4; exist for the benefit of those under them, iii. 6, §§ 7–9; by whom should the artist be judged? ib. 11, §§ 10–14 (cp. viii. 6, §§ 1–4); the arts aim at some good, iii. 12, § 1; justice of the different claims to political superiority illustrated from the arts, ib. 12, §§ 4–8; law of proportion in the arts, ib. 13, § 21; the problems of the arts, an illustration of the problems of politics, iv. 1, §§ 1–4; the arts have to supply the deficiencies of Nature, vii. 17, § 15.

Asia, ii. 10, § 3; iv. 3, § 3; the Asiatics better fitted for slavery than the Hellenes, iii. 14, § 6; vii. 7, § 2; cannibal tribes in Asia, viii. 4, § 3.

Assembly, the, payment of, evil effects of the practice, ii. 7, § 19; iv. 6, § 5; vi. 2, § 6; how they may be counteracted, vi. 5, § 5; —power monopolised by, in extreme democracies, iv. 6, § 5; 14, § 7; v. 5, § 10; 6, § 17; 9, § 14; vi. 2, § 5; 4, § 15 (cp. ii. 12, § 4; v. 11, §§ 11, 12); meetings should be infrequent, vi. 5, § 5 (cp. iv. 14, §§ 4, 5); character of, in the different kinds of democracies, iv. 14, §§ 4–7; vi. 2, §§ 5–7; in oligarchies, iv. 14, §§ 8–11 (cp. iii. 1, § 10); provision in case of equal voting in assemblies, vi. 3, § 6:—at Carthage, ii. 11, §§ 5–6; in Crete, ib. 10, § 7; 11, § 6; at Sparta, ib. 11, § 6.

Astyages, dethroned by Cyrus, v. 10, § 24.

Atarneus (in Mysia), siege of, ii. 7, § 17.

Athene, story of, and the flute, viii. 6, § 13.

Athens; payment of the dicasteries commenced by Pericles, ii. 12, § 4 (cp. iv. 6, § 5; vi. 2, § 6); evil effects of the practice, ii. 7, § 19; plan introduced by Diophantus for the regulation of the public slaves, ib. § 23; maintenance at the public expense of the children of citizens who had fallen in battle, ib. 8, § 6; the Solonian constitution, ib. 7, § 6; 12, §§ 1–6; iii. 11, § 8; the Areopagus (*see* Council of Areopagus); the Court of Phreatto, iv. 16, § 3; effect of the Persian war upon Athens, ii. 12, § 5; v. 4, § 8; viii. 6, § 11; introduction of flute-playing at Athens after the Persian war, viii. 6, § 11; the legislation of Draco, ii. 12, § 13; the expulsion of the tyrants, iii. 2, § 3; v. 12, § 5; the use of ostracism, v. 3, § 3 (cp. iii. 13, § 15); number of sailors in the population, iv. 4, § 21; new citizens introduced by Cleisthenes, iii. 2, § 3; the tribes redivided by him, vi. 4, § 17; treatment of the subject cities by Athens, iii. 13, § 19; democratical governments forced upon the allies by the Athenians, iv. 11, § 18; v. 7, § 14; great losses of the nobility in the Peloponnesian War, v. 3, § 7; difference of sentiment between the Athenians and the citizens of the Piraeus, ib. § 15; origin of the war between Athens and Mitylene, ib. 4, § 6; defeat of the Athenian expedition to Sicily, ib. § 9; government of the Four Hundred, ib. § 13; 6, § 6; of the Thirty, ib. 6, § 6; rise of Peisistratus to the tyranny, ib. 5, § 9; 10, § 6; his trial before the Areopagus, ib. 12, § 2; conspiracy of Harmodius and Aristogeiton, ib. 10, § 15; magistracy of the Eleven, vi. 8, § 11.

Athlete, the temperament of an, not suited to the life of the citizen, vii. 16, § 12; viii. 4.

Athletics: *see* Gymnastic Exercises.

Attalus (the favourite of Philip of Macedon), v. 10, § 16.
Auditors, vi. 8, §§ 17, 21.
Ausones, the, or Opici, in southern Italy, vii. 10, § 5.
Authority, the supreme, varies with each form of government, iii. 6; 7; 13, § 5; iv. 8, § 7; difficulties upon the subject, iii. 10–13; vi. 3; how to be divided among the young and the old, vii. 9, §§ 4–10; 14, § 5.
Autophradates, satrap of Lydia, story of his siege of Atarneus, ii. 7, § 17.
Avarice, encouraged at Sparta, ii. 9, §§ 13, 28, 37; at Carthage, ib. 11, § 11; a frequent cause of crime, ib. 7, § 19; 9, § 28; of revolution, v. 2, § 5; 3, § 1.

B.

Babylonia, ii. 6, § 6; Babylon, iii. 3, § 5; Babylonians, ib. 13, § 19.
Bacchiadae, the, at Corinth, ii. 12, § 8.
Barbarians, the, do not distinguish the female and the slave, i. 2, § 4; generally under kingly rule, ib. § 6 (cp. iii. 14, § 6); regarded by the Hellenes as natural slaves, i. 6, § 6; their nobility not recognised by the Hellenes, ib. § 7; prevalence of barter among them, ib. 8, § 5.
Barter: *see* Exchange.
Basilidae, the, an oligarchy at Erythrae, v. 6, § 5.
Benevolence, identified by some with justice, i. 6, § 4.
Bequest, freedom of, at Sparta, ii. 9, § 14; should be forbidden by law, v. 8, § 20.
Birth, the Gods who preside over, vii. 16, § 14.
Birth, good: *see* Nobility.
Birth, illegitimate, not a disqualification for citizenship in extreme democracies, iii. 5, § 7; vi. 4, § 16.
Blest, the Islands of the, vii. 15, § 4.
Body, the, ruled according to nature by the soul, i. 5, §§ 4–7; the body of the freeman not always distinguished by nature from that of the slave, ib. § 10; the beauty of the body more obvious than that of the soul, ib. § 11; the interest of, identical with that of the soul, ib. 6, § 10; the goods of, for the sake of the soul, vii. 1, §§ 8, 9; prior to the soul, ib. 15, § 10; must not be educated at the same time as the mind, viii. 3, § 13; 4, § 9.
Body, habit of, to be required in the citizen, vii. 16, § 12; viii. 3, § 13.
Boys, love of, prevalent among warlike races, ii. 9, § 8; encouraged in Crete, ib. 10, § 9.
Bribery, common at Sparta, ii. 9, §§ 19, 26; 10, § 12.
Byzantium, number of fishermen at, iv. 4, § 21; quarrel between old and new colonists there, v. 3, § 12.

C.

Camicus, death of Minos at, ii. 10, § 4.
Cannibal tribes in Pontus, viii. 4, § 3.
Carthage, the constitution of, analogous to those of Lacedaemon and Crete, ii. 11, §§ 1, 5; an aristocracy with oligarchical and democratical features, ib. §§ 5–10; iv. 7, § 4; v. 12, § 14; never had a revolution, ii. 11, §§ 2, 15; v. 12, § 14; never under a tyranny, ii. 11, § 2 (*but* cp. v. 12, § 12); the kings partly chosen for ability, ii. 11, §§ 4, 9; influence of wealth, ib. §§ 9–13; plurality of offices, ib. § 13; the magistrates judges in criminal cases, ib. § 7; iii. 1, §§ 10, 11; honours paid to military merit, vii. 2, § 10; the conspiracy of Hanno, v. 7, § 4; custom of sending out the poorer citizens to the colonies, ii. 11, § 15; vi. 5, § 9; treaties between the Carthaginians and the Tyrrhenians, iii. 9, § 6.
Caste, an Egyptian institution, vii. 10, §§ 1–7.
Catana, received laws from Charondas, ii. 12, § 6.
Catapults, invention of, vii. 11, § 9.
Cavalry, importance of, in the an-

cient oligarchies, iv. 3, § 3; 13, § 10; vi. 7, § 1 (cp. the government of 'the knights' in Eretria, v. 6, § 14).
Celts, the, influence of women among, ii. 9, § 7; their warlike character, ib.; vii. 2, § 10; harden their children to cold, vii. 17, § 3.
Chalcidian cities, the (in Italy and Sicily), received their laws from Charondas, ii. 12, § 6; — (of Thrace); legislation of Androdamas, ib. § 14; expulsion of the old citizens of Amphipolis by a Chalcidian colony, v. 3, § 13; 6, § 8.
Chalcis, in Euboea, famous for cavalry in ancient times, iv. 3, § 3; democratic revolution, v. 4, § 9; tyranny of Antileon, and subsequent oligarchical revolution, ib. 12, § 12.
Chares, the Athenian general, concerned in a plot against the government of Aegina, v. 6, § 9.
— of Paros, a writer on Agriculture, i. 11, § 7.
Charicles, leader of a party among the Thirty at Athens, v. 6, § 6.
Charilaus, king of Sparta, ii. 10, § 2; v. 12, § 12.
Charondas, used the word ὁμοσιπύοι for the members of a family, i. 2, § 5; legislated for Catana and the other Chalcidian cities in Italy and Sicily, ii. 12, § 6; said to have been the disciple of Zaleucus, ib. § 7; the first to make laws against perjury, ib. § 11; famous for the accuracy of his legislation, ib.; belonged to the middle class, iv. 11, § 15; compelled the rich to attend the law-courts, ib. 13, § 2.
Child, the, relation of, and the parent, i. 2, § 2; 3, § 1; the virtue of, ib. 13, §§ 3–12; ruled like a king by the elder or parent, ib. 2, § 6; 7, § 1; 12, § 3; has the deliberative faculty, but immature, ib. 13, § 7 (cp. vii. 15, § 10).
Childbirth, especially fatal to young women, vii. 16, § 7.
Children, ought to be educated with regard to the constitution, i. 13, § 15; v. 9, §§ 11–15; viii. 1; recognised in certain countries by their resemblance to their parents, ii. 3, § 9; the children of citizens who died in battle reared at the public expense, ib. 8, § 6; children, in what sense citizens, iii. 1, § 5; 5, § 2; education of the children of kings, ib. 4, § 8; bad education of the children of the rich, iv. 11, §§ 4–8; v. 9, §§ 11–15; licence permitted to children in democracies and tyrannies, vi. 4, § 20; exposure of deformed children, vii. 16, § 15; way in which children should be reared, ib. 17; they should not see or hear anything indecent, ib. §§ 7–11; viii. 5, §§ 19–21; what their education should include, viii. 2; 3; why they ought to learn music and drawing, ib. 3, § 2 foll.; degree to which they should carry musical proficiency, ib. 6, §§ 1–8; must not carry gymnastic exercise too far, ib. 4; must not labour with body and mind at once, ib. § 9; restlessness of young children, ib. 6, § 2; their toys, ib.; their crying not to be checked, vii. 17, § 6.
— Plato's community of, *see* Women and Children.
Children, Guardians of, iv. 15, §§ 9, 13; vi. 8, § 22.
Chios, subjected by the Athenians, iii. 13, § 19; popular revolution at, v. 6, § 16; number of merchant seamen there, iv. 4, § 21; Chian refugees received at Antissa and afterwards expelled, v. 3, § 12.
Chones, the, in southern Italy, vii. 10, § 5.
Choragus, the Lacedaemonian, who led the chorus with a flute, viii. 6, § 12; Thrasippus once choragus to Ecphantides at Athens, ib.
Chytrum, a part of Clazomenae, v. 3, § 15.
Cinadon, conspiracy of, at Lacedaemon, v. 7, § 3.
Cities, art of planning, invented by Hippodamus, ii. 8, § 1; vii. 11, § 6.
Citizen, the, must both rule and obey, i. 1, § 2; 12, § 2; ii. 2,

§§ 4-7; 11, § 14; iii. 4, §§ 10-16; 5, § 1; 6, §§ 9-11; 13, § 12; 16, §§ 2, 3; 17, § 4; vi. 2, § 5; vii. 9, §§ 4-8; 14, §§ 1-8; must have leisure, ii. 9, § 2; 11, §§ 10, 12; vii. 9, §§ 4, 7; 12, § 7; belongs to the state, viii. 1, § 4;—necessity of defining the word, iii. 1, § 2 foll.; children and old men, in what sense citizens, ib. § 5; 5, § 2; residence and legal rights, inadequate definitions, ib. 1, §§ 4, 5; not enough that the parents were citizens, ib. 2, §§ 1-3; the citizen must share in the administration of the state, ib. 1, §§ 5-12; 2, §§ 3-5; 5; 13, § 12; differs under each form of government, ib. 1, § 9; 5, § 5; 13, § 12; iv. 7, § 2; the question about citizens admitted after a revolution, iii. 2, §§ 3-5;—the virtue of the good citizen: is it identical with that of the good man? ib. 4; 5, § 10; 18; vii. 14, § 8; the virtue of the citizen in the perfect state, iii. 4, § 5; 13, § 12;—not all citizens who are necessary to the state, ib. 5, § 2; vii. 9, § 10; the artisans not to be citizens, iii. 5; vii. 9, § 3; nor the sailors, vii. 6, §§ 7, 8; is the life of the citizen the best? ib. 2; 3; the character necessary in the citizens, ib. 7; their habit of body, ib. 16, § 12; viii. 3, § 13; 4.

Citizenship, rights of, conferred on strangers in early times at Sparta, ii. 9, § 17; lost at Sparta, by failure to contribute to the common meals, ib. § 32; 10, § 7; given to persons of illegitimate birth in extreme democracies, iii. 5, § 7; vi. 4, § 16; exclusion from, sometimes concealed, iii. 5. § 9; easily pretended in a large state, vii. 4, § 14.

City, the: *see* State.

City Wardens, vi. 8, §§ 5, 10, 21; vii. 12, § 7.

Clazomenae, quarrels at, between the people of the island and the Chytrians, v. 3, § 15.

Cleander, tyrant of Gela, v. 12, § 13.

Cleisthenes, tyrant of Sicyon, v. 12, §§ 1, 12.

—, the Athenian, new citizens created by, at Athens, iii. 2, § 3; his redivision of the tribes, vi. 4, § 18.

Cleomenes (king of Sparta), defeated the Argives at 'Hebdome,' v. 3, § 7.

Cleopatra (the widow of Perdiccas), v. 10, § 17.

Cleotimus, leader of a revolution at Amphipolis, v. 6, § 8.

Clubs; at Carthage, ii. 11, § 3; at Abydos, v. 6, §§ 6, 13; hated by tyrants, ib. 11, § 5.

Cnidus, democratical revolution at, v. 6, §§ 4, 16.

Codrus, king of Athens, v. 10, § 8.

Cold, children should be inured to, vii. 17, §§ 2, 3.

Colonies, of Carthage, ii. 11, § 15; vi. 5, § 9; oligarchies formed in colonies by the first settlers, iv. 4, § 5; dissensions in, a cause of revolutions, v. 3, §§ 11-14.

Colophon, ancient wealth of, iv. 4, § 5; quarrel between the Colophonians and the Notians, v. 3, § 15.

Combination; superiority of the many, combined to the individual, iii. 11; iv. 4, §§ 26, 27.

Command, the right to, given by previous obedience, iii. 4, §§ 10, 14; vii. 14, § 6.

Commerce, divisions of, i. 11, § 3; its advantages and disadvantages, vii. 6;—commercial treaties, iii. 9, § 6.

Common meals, hostility of the tyrant to, v. 11, § 5; first established in Italy, vii. 10, §§ 1-8; how they should be arranged, ib. §§ 10-12; the young not allowed to share in them, ib. 17, § 11;—of the magistrates, vi. 2, § 7; vii. 12, § 1; of the priests, vii. 12, § 6;—(at Carthage), ii. 11, § 3;—(in Crete), ib. 5, § 15; the original of the Spartan, ib. 10, § 5; maintained at the public cost, ib. §§ 7-10;—(at Sparta), make property to some degree common, ib. 5, § 15; badly regulated, ib. 9,

§§ 31, 32; 10, § 7; anciently called 'andria,' ib. 10, § 5.
Community of women and children, the, proposed by Plato, ii. 1, § 3; arguments against, ii. 3; 4;—of property, ib. 5; vii. 10, § 9.
Compensation, the principle of, in the state, ii. 2, §§ 4–7; iv. 3, § 5.
Compound, the: *see* Whole.
Conditions, the, not the same as parts of a state, vii. 8.
Confederacy, difference between a, and a state, ii. 2, § 3; iii. 9, §§ 6–8.
Confiscation, a favourite practice of the demagogues, v. 5, §§ 1–5; vi. 5, §§ 3–6.
Conquest unnecessary to the happiness of states, vii. 2, § 7; 3, § 10; 14, §§ 16–22 (cp. ii. 9, § 34).
Constitution, regard must be had to the, in education, i. 13, § 15; v. 9, §§ 11–15; viii. 1; the best constitution supposed by some to be a combination of all existing forms, ii. 6, § 17 (cp. iv. 1, § 6; 7, § 4; 9, § 7); the permanence of a constitution only secured by the consent of all classes, ii. 9, § 22; iv. 9, § 10; 12, § 6; v. 8, § 5; 9, §§ 5–10; vi. 6, § 2; 7, § 4; older constitutions more simple than later, ii. 10, § 1; contentment with a constitution not always a proof of its excellence, ib. 10, § 12 (*but* cp. c. 11, §§ 2, 15); in each constitution the citizen different, iii. 1, § 9; 5, § 5; 13, § 12; iv. 7, § 2; relation of the constitution and the state, iii. 1, § 1; 3, § 9; 6, § 1; 7, § 2; iv. 1, § 10; 3, § 5; definition of the word, iii. 1, § 1; 6, § 1; iv. 1, § 10; 3, § 5; the constitution the life of the state, iv. 11, § 3; the people naturally suited to each constitution, iii. 17; the constitution sometimes nominally unchanged after a revolution, iv. 5, §§ 3, 4 (cp. v. 1, § 8); the encroachments of the rich often more dangerous to the constitution than those of the poor, iv. 12, § 6; life according to the constitution no slavery, v. 9, § 15; vii. 3, §§ 1–3.
Contemplation, the life of, opposed to that of action, vii. 2; 14.
Contracts, suits respecting, tried at Sparta by the Ephors, iii. 1, § 10; often disavowed after a revolution, ib. 3, § 2.
Cookery, the art of, i. 7, § 3.
Corinth, iii. 9, § 9; tyranny of Timophanes, v. 6, § 12; tyranny of the Cypselids, ib. 10, § 6; 11, § 9; its duration, ib. 12, §§ 3, 4; family of the Bacchiadae, ii. 12, § 8.
Corn Measurers; name of certain magistrates, iv. 15, § 3.
Cos, overthrow of the democracy at, v. 5, § 2.
Cosmi, the (in Crete), analogous to the Ephors, ii. 10, § 6; a worse institution, ib. § 10; have the command in war, ib. § 6; sometimes forced by the nobles to resign or abdicate, ib. §§ 13, 14.
Cotys, king of the Odrysians in Thrace, murdered by Parrhon and Heracleides, v. 10, § 18.
Council of Areopagus, the, an oligarchical element in the Athenian constitution, ii. 12, § 2; its power curtailed by Pericles and Ephialtes, ib. § 4; acquired credit during the Persian War, v. 4, § 8; appearance of Peisistratus before, ib. 12, § 2.
Council of Elders, the, (at Carthage), analogous to the Spartan, ii. 11, § 3; their powers, ib. § 5; (in Crete), analogous to the Spartan, ib. 10, § 6; criticized, ib. §§ 11, 12; (at Elis), v. 6, § 11; (at Sparta), its defects, ii. 9, §§ 24–27; the mode of election childish, ib. § 27 (cp. v. 6, § 11); decides in cases of homicide, iii. 1, § 10 (cp. ii. 9, § 25; iv. 9, § 9).
Council, the supreme, called in oligarchies 'the Probuli,' iv. 14, § 14; 15, § 11; vi. 8, §§ 17, 24; in democracies the 'Boule,' iv. 15, § 11; vi. 8, §§ 17, 24 (cp. v. 1, § 11).
Councillors and warriors, the two highest classes in the state, iv. 4, §§ 10–17; vii. 4, §§ 4–7; 8, § 7; 9, §§ 4–10.

Councillors, magistrates at Thurii, v. 7, § 13.
Courage, different in the man and the woman, i. 13, §§ 9–12; iii. 4, §§ 16, 17; wanting in the Spartan women, ii. 9, § 9; found in the masses, iii. 7, § 4; emboldened by power, v. 10, § 25; not inconsistent with a proper use of fortifications, vii. 11, §§ 8–11; always associated with gentleness, ib. 7, §§ 5–9; viii. 4, § 2 (*see* Valour).
Courts, the extravagance of, causes discontent in the people, v. 11, § 19.
Cowardice of the Spartan women, ii. 9, § 9.
Crataeus, one of the assassins of Archelaus, v. 10, § 17.
Crete, favourable position of, ii. 10, §§ 3, 12, 16; visit of Lycurgus to, ib. § 2;—the Cretan constitution the original of the Lacedaemonian, ib. §§ 1–3; analogous to the Carthaginian, ib. 11, § 1; the attention of the legislator directed solely to war, vii. 2, § 9;—the common tables introduced into Crete by Minos, ib. 10, §§ 2, 6; called by the Cretans, ἀνδρια, ii. 10, § 5; object of the institution, ii. 5, § 15; better managed in Crete than at Lacedaemon, ib. 9, §§ 30–33; 10, §§ 7–9;—frequency of sedition in Crete, ib. 10, §§ 14, 15;—slaves in Crete forbidden gymnastic exercises and the use of arms, ib. 5, § 19; the Perioeci in Crete well managed, ib. 9, § 3; 10, §§ 15, 16; governed by the laws of Minos, ib. 10, § 3; analogy of the Cretan Perioeci with the Helots, ib. § 5;—existence of caste in Crete, vii. 10, § 1.
Crime, the causes of, ii. 5, § 12; 7, §§ 10–14, 18; 9, § 28.
Cumae, in Italy, ancient law of murder there, ii. 8, § 20.
Custom, power of, ii. 8, § 24; iv. 5, § 3; vii. 13, §§ 11–13; a sort of justice, i. 6, § 5.
Cycle, the, of change, in Plato's Republic, v. 12, §§ 7–18.
Cyclopes, the, Homer's account of, i. 2, § 7.
Cyme, in Aeolis, overthrow of the democracy at, v. 5, § 4.
Cypselids, the, offerings of, v. 11, § 9; duration of their tyranny, ib. 12, §§ 3, 4.
Cypselus of Corinth, origin of his tyranny, v. 10, § 6; its duration, ib. 12, § 3.
Cyrene, oligarchical insurrection at, vi. 4, § 17; establishment of the democracy, ib. § 18.
Cyrus, king of Persia, the liberator of his people, v. 10, § 8; attacked his master Astyages, ib. § 24.

D.

Daedalus, the statues of, i. 4, § 3.
Dancing, sometimes ranked with music as an amusement, viii. 5, § 3.
Daphnaeus, of Syracuse, overthrown by Dionysius, v. 5, § 10.
Darius, son of Xerxes, execution of, by Artapanes, v. 10, § 21.
Debts, should they be paid after a revolution? iii. 3, § 2.
Decamnichus, the instigator of the conspiracy against Archelaus, v. 10, § 20.
Deliberation, the right to share in, essential to the citizen, iii. 1, §§ 6–12; 2, § 5; 13, § 12 (cp. vii. 8, § 7).
Deliberative element, the, in the state, iv. 14.
Deliberative faculty, the, present to some degree in the woman and child, but not in the slave, i. 13, § 7.
Delphi, the seditions at, v. 4, § 5; the Delphian knife, i. 2, § 3.
Demagogues, the authors and flatterers of the extreme democracy, ii. 12, §§ 4–6; iv. 4, §§ 25–31; v. 9, § 10; 11, §§ 11, 12; vi. 4, §§ 15–17; confiscate the property of the rich, v. 5, § 5; vi. 5, § 3; often bring about revolutions, v. 3, § 4; 5, §§ 1–5; in ancient times became tyrants, ib. 5, §§ 6–10; 10, §§ 4, 6:—in oligarchies, ib. 6, § 5.
Demiurgi, magistrates at Larissa, iii. 2, § 2.
Democracy, the government of the many in their own interests, iii. 7,

§ 5; 8, § 2; iv. 11, § 17; akin to tyranny, iv. 4, § 27; v. 10, §§ 11, 30, 35; 11, § 12; the only possible government in large states, iii. 15, § 12; iv. 6, § 5; 13, § 10 (cp. vi. 5, § 5); the perversion of constitutional government, iii. 7, § 5; iv. 2, §§ 1, 2; Plato wrong in calling democracy the worst of good constitutions, but the best of bad ones, iv. 2, § 3; insufficiency of the common definitions of democracy, iii. 8; iv. 4, §§ 1–6; more forms of democracy than one, iv. 1, § 8; 4, §§ 20–22; 11, § 20; 12, § 3; 13, § 12; vi. 1, § 2; the forms enumerated, iv. 4, §§ 22–31; 6, §§ 1–7; 12, § 3; 14, §§ 1–7; vi. 4; growth of the last and worst form, ii. 12, § 4; iii. 4, § 12; 6, §§ 9–11; iv. 6, § 5; v. 5, §§ 6–11; 6, §§ 6–8; 9, § 10; vi. 2, §§ 5–9; 4, §§ 15–20 (cp. v. 10, § 12; 11. § 11);—democracy more stable than oligarchy, iv. 11, § 14; v. 1, § 15; 7, § 6 (cp. v. 3, § 8); causes of revolution in democracies: anarchy, v. 3, § 5; vi. 4, § 17; demagogic practices, v. 3, § 4; 5; 9, § 10; vi. 5, § 5; disproportionate increase, v. 3, §§ 6–8; dissatisfaction of the notables, ib. § 14 (cp. ii. 7, §§ 10, 18); long tenure or greatness of office, v. 5, § 8; 8, § 7; the means of their preservation, iv. 12, § 4; 13, §§ 5–8; 14, § 12; v. 8; vi. 4, § 17; 5; democracy (especially the extreme form) apt to pass into tyranny, iv. 11, § 11; v. 5, §§ 6–10; 8, § 7; 10, § 30; Plato censured for supposing that the change is necessarily to tyranny, v. 12, § 10;—Athens the champion of democracy in Hellas, iv. 11, § 18; v. 7, § 14; the democratic principle represented at Sparta by the Ephoralty, ii. 6, § 17; 9, § 21; 10, § 10; iv. 9, § 9;—characteristics of democracy: liberty and equality for all, iii. 8, § 7; iv. 4, §§ 22, 23; 8, § 7; v. 1, § 3; 8, § 6; 9, §§ 14, 15; vi. 2, §§ 1–4, 9; 4, § 20; the use of the lot, ii. 11, § 7; 12, § 3; iv. 9, § 4; 15, § 19; vi. 2, §§ 5, 8; employment of a large number of magistrates, ii. 11, § 14; short tenure of office, v. 8, § 6; vi. 2, §§ 5, 8; payment of the citizens, ii 7, § 19; 12, § 4; iv. 6, § 5; 9, § 2; vi. 2, §§ 6, 7; 5, § 5; carelessness in the admission of artisans and persons of illegitimate birth to citizenship, iii. 4, § 12; 5, §§ 7, 8; vi. 4, § 16; license allowed to women and children, v. 11, § 11; vi. 4, § 20;—ostracism originally a democratic institution, iii. 13, § 15; v. 3, § 3; democratical tricks to keep the power in the hands of the people, iv. 13, § 5; suggestions for the improvement of democracy, ib. 14, § 12; vi. 5, §§ 5–11;—the magistrates peculiar to democracy, iv. 15, § 11; vi. 8, §§ 17, 24; democratical modes of appointing magistrates and judges, iv. 15, § 19; 16, § 8;—character and powers of the assembly, ib. 14, §§ 1–7;—the best material of a democracy, ib. 6, § 2; vi. 4, § 1; the position suitable to a democracy, vii. 11, § 5; democracy always supported by the sailors and light armed, vi. 7, §§ 1, 2.

Derdas (? King of Elymaea), conspiracy of, against Amyntas the Little, v. 10, § 16.

Desire, insatiableness of human, i. 9, § 16; ii. 5, § 12; 7, §§ 8, 19; found even in very young children, vii. 15, § 10.

Detectives, female, employed at Syracuse, v. 11, § 7.

Devices, political, of oligarchies and democracies, iv. 13, §§ 1–8; their inutility, v. 8, § 4.

Diagoras, an Eretrian, v. 6, § 14.

Dicaea, 'the Pharsalian mare,' ii. 3, § 9.

Dicasteries, the Athenian, ii. 12, § 4.

Dictators: *see* Æsymnetes.

Diocles, story of, and Philolaus, ii. 12, §§ 8–11.

Dion, conspiracy of, against Dionysius, v. 10, §§ 23, 28, 31, 32.

Dionysius the Elder, story of, and the Sicilian monopolist, i. 11, §§ 11, 12; his request for guards,

iii. 15, § 16; his rise to the tyranny, v. 5, § 10; 10, § 6; aided by Hipparinus, ib. 6, § 8; his marriage alliance with Locris, ib. 7, § 10; his excessive taxation at Syracuse, ib. 11, § 10.
Dionysius the Younger, conspiracy of Dion against, v. 10, §§ 23, 28, 31, 32.
Diophantus (?Archon, B.C. 395), his plan for the management of the public slaves, ii. 7, § 23.
Directors of Education, vii. 17, §§ 5, 7; of Gymnastics, vi. 8, §§ 22.
Discipline, good effects of, ii. 9, § 11.
Dithyrambic poetry, suited to the Phrygian harmony, viii. 7, § 10.
Dockyards, often at a convenient distance from the city, vii. 6, § 5.
Domination over others, not the true object of statesmanship, vii. 2; 3; 14, §§ 12–22.
Dorian Harmony, the: *see* Harmony.
Dowries made by Phaleas a means to the equalization of property, ii. 7, § 3; large dowries customary at Sparta, ib. 9, § 15.
Doxander, leader of a revolution at Mitylene, v. 4, § 6.
Draco, notorious for the severity of his legislation, ii. 12, § 13.
Drawing, a branch of education, viii. 3, §§ 1, 12.
Drinking, Plato's law about (Laws II, 671 D), ii. 12, § 12.
Drunkenness, law of Pittacus respecting, ii. 12, § 13.
Dynasty, or Family Oligarchy, *see* Oligarchy.

E.

Earth-born men, the fable of the, ii. 8, § 21.
Eating, moderation in, encouraged by the Cretan lawgiver, ii. 10, § 9.
Eavesdroppers, employment of, by the tyrant Hiero, v. 11, § 7.
Ecphantides (the ancient comic poet), viii. 6, § 12.
Education, may be directed to a wrong end, ii. 7, §§ 8, 9; must have regard to the constitution, i. 13, § 15; v. 9, § 11; viii. 1; the great means of uniting the state, ii. 5, §§ 18–21; special, for the ruler, iii. 4, § 8 (cp. vii. 14, § 6); confers a claim to preeminence in the state, iii. 13, § 1 (cp. c. 9, §§ 14, 15; 12, §§ 8, 9; iv. 8, §§ 2–5); excellence of the Spartan education, iv. 9, § 7; viii. 1, § 4 (*but* cp. viii. 4, §§ 1–7); bad education of the rich, iv. 11, § 6; v. 9, § 13; hostility of the tyrant to education, v. 11, § 5; education necessary to supplement habit, vii. 13, § 13; 17, § 15; the special business of the legislator, viii. 1, § 1; wrong notions of education prevalent in Hellas, vii. 14, § 15; viii. 1, § 3; 4, § 6; the periods of education, vii. 17; viii. 4, §§ 7–9; necessity of a common system of education, viii. 1, § 3 (cp. ii. 7, § 8; and iv. 9, § 7); should education have an ethical or a practical aim? viii. 2; 3; 5; should it include music? ib. 3; 5; 6; what instruments and harmonies are to be used? ib. 6, §§ 8–16; 7; education not to be directed to a single end, ib. 4, § 2; the proper place of gymnastics in education, ib. 3, § 13; 4; the education of mind and body not to be carried on together, ib. 4, § 9; writers upon musical education, ib. 5, § 23; 7, §§ 2, 3, 8, 11, 14; musical education a kind of rattle to older children, ib. 6, § 2; the three principles of education, ib. 7, § 15: — Directors of Education, vii. 17, §§ 5, 7.
Egypt; physicians allowed to alter their treatment after the fourth day, iii. 15, § 4; the pyramids, v. 11, § 9; the division into Castes, vii. 10, §§ 1–6; the Egyptians the most ancient of all people, ib. § 8.
Elder and younger, relation of, i. 2, § 6; 12; the elder to command, the younger to obey, vii. 9, §§ 4–9; 14, §§ 4, 5.
Eleven, the, at Athens, vi. 8, § 11.
Elis, narrowness of the oligarchical government at, v. 6, § 11.
Elymaea, v. 10, § 17.
Empire, unnecessary to the hap-

piness of states, vii. 2; 3; 14, §§ 12–22.
End, the, the completed nature of each thing, i. 2, § 8; has no limit in the arts, ib. 8, § 14; 9, § 13; may agree or disagree with the means, vii. 13, § 2; contains an element of pleasure, viii. 5, § 13.
Enemies, will not walk on the same path, iv. 11, § 7; may be united by a common danger, v. 5, § 1.
Entertainments (λειτουργίαι): *see* Public Services.
Enthusiasm, created by music, viii. 5, § 16; peculiarly the effect of the Phrygian harmony, ib. § 22; 6, §§ 9–11; has a great power over certain persons, ib. 7, § 4.
Ephialtes, curtailed the privileges of the Areopagus, ii. 12, § 4.
Ephors, the, a democratic element at Sparta, ii. 6, § 17; 9, §§ 20–22; 10, § 10; iv. 9, § 9; their corruption and license, ii. 9, §§ 19–24; 10, § 12; greatness of their power, ib. 9, § 20; v. 11, § 2; the mode of their election childish, ii. 9, § 23; have the right of calling the magistrates to account, ib. § 26; try suits respecting contracts, iii. 1, § 10 (cp. ii. 9, § 23; 11, § 7); established by Theopompus as a check on the royal power, v. 11, §§ 1–3; correspond to the Cosmi in Crete, ii. 10, §§ 6, 10, 12; to the magistracy of 104 at Carthage, ib. 11, § 3.
Epidamnus, management of public slaves at, ii. 7, § 23; governed by a single archon, iii. 16, § 1; v. 1, § 11; democratic revolution there, v. 1, §§ 10, 11; its origin, ib. 4, § 7.
Epimenides, of Crete, used the name ὁμόκαποι for the members of a family, i. 2, § 5.
Equality, how related to justice, iii. 9; 12; 13, §§ 11, 12; v. 1, § 2; 9, § 14; vii. 3, § 5; 14, §§ 1–6; (the true kind) no longer desired in Hellenic states, iv. 11, §§ 4–10, 19; v. 9, §§ 5–10; equality and liberty the aim of democracy, iii. 8, § 7; iv. 4, § 22; 8, § 7; v. 1, § 3; 8, § 6; 9, § 14; vi. 2, §§ 1–4, 9; the desire of equality a cause of sedition, v. 1, §§ 3–8; 2, §§ 2, 3; 3, § 2; when attained creates contentment, ib. 7, § 6; equality either numerical or proportional, iii. 8; iv. 12, §§ 1–4; v. 1, §§ 12–16; vi. 3; states must not be based on one kind alone, v. 1, § 14; denied to the weak by the strong, vi. 3, § 6.
Equality of property, proposed by Phaleas, ii. 7; 12, § 12.
Equals in rank form a kind of democracy, v. 8, § 6; legislation only for those who are equal, iii. 13, § 14.
Eretria, owed its importance in early times to its cavalry force, iv. 3, § 3; overthrow of the oligarchy of the 'knights,' v. 6, § 14.
Erythrae, overthrow of the Basilidae at, v. 6, § 5.
Ethics, the Nicomachean, quoted, N. E. i. 7, § 15; Pol. vii. 13, § 5; „ iii. 4, §§ 4, 5; „ ib. 13, § 7; „ v. 3, § 4; „ iii. 9, § 3; „ ib. 5, § 6; „ ii. 2, § 4; „ ib. 10, § 4; „ iii. 12, § 1; „ vii. 13, § 2; „ iv. 11, § 3; „ x. 6, § 2; „ vii. 13, § 5.
Ethiopia, offices given in, according to stature, iv. 4, § 4.
Eubulus (tyrant of Atarneus), story of, ii. 7, § 17.
Eunuch, the, (Thrasydaeus) assassinated Evagoras of Cyprus, v. 10, § 16.
Euripides, caused Decamnichus to be scourged, v. 10, § 20; quoted, Iphig. in Aulid. 1400, i. 2, § 4; ib. (?) 1017 (*or* Fragm. Inc. lxxxi), v. 9, § 15; Bacchae, 380, viii. 5, § 2; Æolus, fr. iii, iii. 4, § 8; Fragm. Inc. lxxxii, vii. 7, § 8.
Europe, the inhabitants of (northern), have more bravery than intelligence, vii. 7, § 2.
Euryphon, the father of Hippodamus, ii. 8, § 1.
Eurytion, a revolutionary leader at Heraclea, v. 6, § 15.
Euthycrates, a Phocian, v. 4, § 7.
Evagoras, tyrant of Salamis in

Cyprus, murdered by the eunuch Nicocles, v. 10, § 16.
Evil; the sense of good and evil characteristic of man, i. 2, § 12.
Evils, must be guarded against at their beginning, v. 4, §§ 1–3; 8, §§ 2, 3, 9.
Example, power of, ii. 11, § 11.
Exchange, (1) according to nature, (barter of necessaries), i. 9, §§ 2–7; 10, §§ 3, 4; (2) contrary to nature (retail trade), i. 9, §§ 1–4, 9–12; 10, § 4; 11, § 3.
Executive element, the, in the state, iv. 14, § 2; 15; vi. 8.
Exoteric discourses, referred to, iii. 6, § 5; vii. 1, § 2.
Experience, value of, ii. 5, § 16; vii. 10, § 8.
Expiations for crime, could not be made if a community of women were established, ii. 4, § 1.
Exposure of deformed children, justifiable, vii. 16, § 15.
Extravagance, the, of courts, causes discontent in the common people, v. 11, § 19.
Extremes, danger of, iv. 11, §§ 16–19; 12, §§ 4–6; vi. 5, §§ 1–4.

F

Faction, frequency of, in Crete, ii. 10, §§ 14–16; evil effects of, in Hellas, iv. 11, §§ 16–18; a cause of revolution in oligarchies, v. 6, § 9; less common in democracies, iv. 11, § 14; v. 1, §§ 15, 16; 7, § 6.
Families, should the number of, equal the number of lots? ii. 6, § 13.
Families, large, encouraged at Sparta, ii. 9, § 18.
Family, the, the village a colony of, i. 2, § 6 (cp. c. 9, § 5); composed of three relations which are sanctioned by nature, ib. 2, § 2 foll.; 3, §§ 1–3; 12; 13, § 15; governed by the elder or parent who is their king, ib. 2, § 6; 7, § 1; 12, § 3; different kinds of rule within the family, ib. 12; the family a part of the state, ib. 13, § 15; ii. 9, § 5; the state more self-sufficient than the family, ii. 2, § 8.
Family oligarchy, *see* Oligarchy.
Family quarrels, a cause of revolutions, v. 4, §§ 5–7; 6, § 14; 10, § 3.
Father and child, relation of, i. 2, §§ 1–5; 3, §§ 1–3; 12.
Fear, will make the bitterest enemies unite, v. 5, § 1; helps to keep the state together, ib. 8, § 8.
Female, the, by nature different from the slave except among barbarians, i. 2, §§ 3, 4; subject by nature to the male, ib. 5, § 7; 12, § 1; 13, § 7; tendency of the female to produce offspring like the parents, ii. 3, § 9:—the union of male and female formed in obedience to a natural instinct, i. 2, § 2; the relation of male and female part of the household, ib. 3, § 2; 12, § 1. [*See* Woman.]
Ferrymen, number of, at Tenedos, iv. 4, § 21.
Finance, importance of, to the statesman, i. 11, § 13; the finances of Sparta badly managed, ii. 9, § 36; suggestions for the regulation of state finances, v. 8, §§ 15–19; vi. 5.
Fishermen, number of, at Tarentum and Byzantium, iv. 4, § 21.
Flatterers, influence of, with the tyrant, iv. 4, § 28; v. 11, § 12.
Flute, the, came into fashion at Athens and Lacedaemon after the Persian War, viii. 6, §§ 10–12; story of Athene and the flute, ib. §§ 13, 14; not a fit instrument for freemen, ib. §§ 10; 7, § 9.
Flute-maker, the ruler compared to the,—the subject to the flute-player, iii. 4, § 18.
Flute-players, used as an illustration of the claims to superiority in the state, iii. 12, §§ 4, 5.
Food, supplied by nature to all, i. 8, §§ 4–12; 10, § 3; one of the conditions of a state, vii. 8, § 7.
Force, generally associated with virtue, i. 6, § 3.
Forests, Inspectors of, vi. 8, § 6; vii. 12, § 8.

Fortifications, necessary to the state, vii. 11, §§ 8–12.
Fortune, the legislator ought not to trust to, ii. 11, §§ 15, 16; the controller of events, vii. 12, § 9; 13, § 9.
Fountains, officers in charge of, vi. 8, § 5.
Four Hundred, government of the, at Athens, v. 4, § 13; 6, § 6.
Free, the, and the noble akin, iii. 13, § 2 (cp. i. 6, §§ 6, 7).
Freedom, supposed by Hellenes not to exist among barbarians, i. 2, § 4; 6, § 6; is a reason why men claim authority in a state, iii. 9, § 14; 12, § 8; 13, §§ 2–5. [*See* Liberty.]
Freeman, the, in his relation to the slave, i. 2, §§ 2–4; 3, § 4; 5; 6; not always outwardly distinguished by nature from him, ib. 5, § 10; rule over freemen more noble than rule over slaves, ib. § 2; vii. 3, § 2; 14, § 19; will never willingly submit to the tyrant, iv. 10. § 4; v. 11, § 12; has a natural right to rule, ii. 2, § 6; iii. 16, §§ 2, 3; must not be ashamed to obey his lawful superiors, v. 9, §§ 11–14; vii. 3, § 2; 14, §§ 1–5 (cp. iv. 11, § 6); may have a certain knowledge of the arts, viii. 2, §§ 5, 6; may be allowed to share in the pleasures of music, ib. 5, § 7.
Friends, have all things in common, ii. 5, § 6 (cp. vii. 10, § 9).
Friendship, weakened by communism, ii. 4, §§ 5–9; the motive of society, ib. § 6; iii. 9, § 13; iv. 11, § 7 (cp. vi. 5, §§ 7–11); implies equality, iii. 16, § 13; friendship among the citizens hated by the tyrant, v. 11, § 5; friendship at Sparta, ii. 5, § 7.

G.

Gela, tyranny of Cleander at, v. 12, § 13.
Gelo, tyrant of Syracuse, v. 3, § 5; duration of his tyranny, ib. 12, §§ 5, 6; expulsion of his family, ib. 10, § 31; 12, § 6.
General, the, learns command by obedience, iii. 4, § 14; generals often became demagogues in ancient times, v. 5, §§ 6–10; have often attacked their masters, ib. 10, § 24; wise generals combine light-armed troops with cavalry and heavy infantry, vi. 7, § 2.
Generalship, a rare quality, v. 9, § 3.
Gentleness, associated with courage, vii. 7, §§ 5–9; viii. 4, § 2.
Gerusia: *see* Council of Elders.
God, happy by reason of his own nature, vii. 1, § 10; 3, § 10; alone able to hold together the universe, ib. 4, § 8.
Gods, the, supposed to be under a king because mankind originally were, i. 2, § 7; 12, § 3; their statues more beautiful than ordinary human forms, ib. 5, § 10.
Gods, the, who preside over birth, vii. 16, § 14; at whose festivals ribaldry is permitted, ib. 17, § 10.
Good, absolute and relative, vii. 13, §§ 5–8.
Good, the, the aim of the state, i. 1, § 1; ii. 2, § 7.
Good and evil, the sense of, characteristic of man, i. 2, § 12; made the test of freedom and slavery, ib. 6, § 8.
Goods, the three kinds of, vii. 1, §§ 2–5; external goods not to be preferred to virtue, ii. 9, § 35; vii. 1, §§ 5–9; 15, § 6; not the cause of happiness, vii. 1, § 10; 13, § 8.
Gordius, father of Psammetichus, tyrant of Corinth, v. 12, § 3.
Gorgias of Leontini, his definition of virtue, i. 13, § 10;—of the citizen, iii. 2, § 2.
Government, the Constitutional, called in ancient times democracy, iv. 13, § 11; its rarity, ib. 7, § 1 (cp. c. 11, § 16); one of the true forms of government, iii. 7, § 3 (cp. iv. 8, § 1); how distinguished from aristocracy, oligarchy, and democracy, iv. 7; 8; 14, §§ 8–10; v. 7, §§ 5–7; vi. 1, § 3 (cp. ii. 11, §§ 5–9); composed of the heavy-armed soldiers, ii. 6, § 16; iii. 7, § 4;

17, § 4; iv. 13, § 10; the people to whom it is adapted, iii. 17, § 4; suited to a large country population, vi. 4, § 14; characterised by the alternation of rulers and ruled, i. 1, § 2; 12, § 2; ii. 2, §§ 4-7; 11, § 14; iii. 4, §§ 10, 14; 6, § 9; 16, § 2; 17, § 4; vii. 14, §§ 1-5 (cp. i. 7, § 1); by the combination of the vote and the lot in the election of the magistrates, iv. 15, §§ 19-22; gives the affirmative power to the many, ib. 14, § 16; the mode in which it arises, ib. 9; causes of revolution to which it is subject, v. 3, §§ 6-8; 6, §§ 16-18; 7, §§ 5-9; means of its preservation, ib. 8, §§ 10, 11; more stable than aristocracy, ib. 7, § 6.

Government, forms of, how to be criticised, ii. 9, § 1; iv. 1; the legislator must know all, iv. 1, §§ 5-8; differ according to the character of the supreme authority, iii, 6, § 1; 13, § 5; iv. 8, §§ 2-4; 14, § 1; are based on partial justice only, iii. 9, §§ 1-4, 15; 17, § 6; v. 1, § 2; vi. 3, §§ 1-4; are all perversions of the perfect state, iv. 8, § 1; may be divided into true forms or perversions, iii. 1, §§ 8-10; 6, § 11; 7; 18; iv. 2, §§ 1-3; 8, § 1; their successive changes in ancient times, iii. 15, §§ 11-13; iv. 13, §§ 9-12; Plato's theory of change wrong, v. 12, §§ 5-18; influence of increased population upon forms of government, iii. 15, §§ 11-13; iv. 6, § 5; vi. 5, § 5; the worst forms the most precarious, vi. 6, § 4; common error that forms of government can be reduced to two—oligarchy and democracy, iv. 3, §§ 6-8; sense in which this is true, ib. 4, § 19; v. 1, § 14 (cp. vi. 1, § 6); the people adapted to each form of government, iii. 17; the magistrates suited to each, iv. 15, §§ 11-13; vi. 8, §§ 17, 24; the judicial arrangements, ii. 11, § 7; iii. 1, §§ 10, 11; iv. 16, § 8; the military force, vi. 7, §§ 1, 2.

Government, writers on, often unpractical, iv. 1, § 5; have extolled the Lacedaemonian constitution, ib. § 6; vii. 14, §§ 16, 17.

Guardians of Children, iv. 15, §§ 9, 13; vi. 8, § 22; of the Citizens (at Larissa), v. 6, § 6; of the Law, iv. 14, § 14; vi. 8, §§ 17, 22, 24; of Shrines, vi. 8, § 19; of Women, iv. 15, §§ 9, 13; vi. 8, § 22.

Guardians, the, in Plato's Republic: *see* Plato.

Guards, story of Dionysius' request for, iii. 15, § 16; the guards of the tyrant mercenaries, of the king citizens, ib. 14, § 7; v. 10, § 10.

Gymnastic, like other arts, has undergone improvement, ii. 8, § 18; includes various kinds of training, iv. 1, §§ 1, 2.

Gymnastic exercises, forbidden to slaves in Crete, ii. 5, § 19; discouraged in oligarchies among the poor, iv. 13, § 4; one of the recognised branches of education, viii. 3, § 1; carried to excess at Lacedaemon, ib. 4, §§ 1-7; suggestions for their arrangement, vii. 12, §§ 1-6; should be of a lighter kind for children, viii. 4, § 7:—Directors of, vi. 8, § 22.

H.

Habit, bodily, the, to be required in the citizen, vii. 16, § 12; viii. 4.

Habit, the strength of law derived from, ii. 8, § 24; one element of virtue, vii. 13, §§ 11-13; 15, § 7; must go before reason in education, viii. 3, § 13.

Hanno, conspiracy of, at Carthage, v. 7, § 4.

Happiness, independent of external goods, vii. 1, § 10; 13, § 8; the happiness of the whole dependent on the happiness of the parts, i. 6, § 10; ii. 5, § 27; vii. 9, § 7; happiness proportioned to virtue, vii. 1, § 10; 8,

§ 5; 9, §§ 3, 7; 13, § 5; the perfect happiness of the divine nature, ib. 1, § 10; 3, § 10; the happiness of men and states the same, ib. 2; 3; the happiness of states not dependent on empire over others, ib. 2, §§ 14-18; or on size, ib. 4, §§ 4-11; happiness implies virtuous activity, ib. 3, §§ 1-3; is the worthy employment of leisure, viii. 3, §§ 3-6; 5, §§ 9-15.
Harbours, should be separated from the city, vii. 6, §§ 1-6.
Harmodius, conspiracy of, and Aristogeiton, v. 10, § 15.
Harmonies, the, sometimes divided into two principal forms, the Dorian and the Phrygian, iv. 3, § 7; their different effects and the use to be made of them in education, viii. 5, §§ 16-25; 7.
Harmony, the soul said to be, or to possess, viii. 5, § 25.
Harmony in music, i. 5, § 4; iii. 3, § 8.
Harmony, the Dorian, iii. 3, § 8; iv. 3, § 7; produces a moderate and settled temper, viii. 5, § 22; 7, §§ 8-13:—the Lydian; rejected by Plato in the Republic, ib. 7, §§ 9, 14; suitable to children, ib. § 15:—the Mixo-Lydian; has a sad and grave effect, ib. 5, § 22:—the Phrygian, iii. 3, § 8; iv. 3, § 7; inspires enthusiasm, viii. 5, § 22; 7, § 9; should not have been retained by Plato, ib. 7, §§ 9-13.
Harp, the Lydian, one of the instruments to be rejected in musical education, viii. 6, § 13.
Hatred, more reasonable than anger, v. 10, § 34; may arise out of love, vii. 7, §§ 7-9.
Health, an important consideration in choosing the site of a city, vii. 11, §§ 1-5.
Hearing, the, has more connection with morals than any other sense, viii. 5, §§ 15-25.
Hebdome, slaughter of the Argives at, v. 3, § 7.
Heiresses, number of, at Sparta, ii. 9, § 15; legislation of Androdamas respecting, ib. 12, § 14; disputes concerning, a cause of revolutions, v. 4, §§ 6, 7.
Heliaea, court of, at Epidamnus, v. 1, § 11.
Hellanocrates of Larissa, one of the conspirators against Archelaus, v. 10, § 18.
Hellas, influence of the climate of, on the national character, vii. 7, §§ 1-4; natural superiority of Hellenes to Barbarians, i. 2, § 4; 6, § 6; iii. 14, § 6; vii. 7, § 3; differences of the various Hellenic tribes, vii. 7, § 4:—barbarous laws among the ancient Hellenes, ii. 8, § 20; the Hellenes formerly under royal rule, i. 2, § 6; iii. 15, § 11; iv. 13, § 10; changes in government caused by the increase of population, iii. 15, § 11-13; iv. 6, § 5; 13, §§ 10-12; vi. 5, § 5; rise of the heavy-armed in importance, iv. 13, § 10; effects of the Persian war upon Hellas, ii. 12, § 5; v. 4, § 8; viii. 6, § 11; growth of the Athenian empire in Hellas, iii. 13, § 19; division of Hellas between Athens and Lacedaemon, iv. 11, § 18; v. 7, § 14:—smallness of the middle class in later Hellas, iv. 11, §§ 7, 16-19; lack of great men, v. 10, § 37; effects of the cultivation of rhetoric, ib. 5, § 7; wrong notions of education, iv. 11, § 6; vii. 14, § 15; viii. 1, § 3; 2, § 2:—rage for flute playing in Hellas after the Persian War, viii. 6, § 12.
Helots, difficulty of the Lacedaemonians in managing, ii. 5, § 22; 9, § 2; 10, § 16; their analogy with the Cretan Perioeci, ib. 10, §§ 4, 16.
Heniochi, the, in Pontus, said to be cannibals, viii. 4, § 3.
Hephaestus, the tripods of, i. 4, § 3.
Heptagon, the, a musical instrument, viii. 6, § 13.
Heraclea, in Pontus, had a large number of seamen, vii. 6, § 8; democratical revolution there, v. 6, § 7: (? the same place) over-

throw of the democracy, ib. 5, § 3; introduction of a more popular government, ib. 6, §§ 2, 3: (? in Trachis), revolution at, arising out of the punishment of Eurytion for adultery, ib. 6, § 15.
Heracleides of Ænos, one of the assassins of Cotys, v. 10, § 18.
Heracleitus, saying of, about anger, v. 11, § 31.
Heracleodorus, a revolutionary leader at Oreus, v. 3, § 9.
Heracles, story of, and the Argonauts, iii. 13, § 16.
Heraea (in Arcadia), revolution at, v. 3, § 9.
Hesiod, quoted, Op. et Di., 25, v. 10, § 30; ib. 405. i. 2, § 5.
Hestiaea (the later Oreus) in Euboea, democratic revolutions at, v. 3, § 9; 4, § 4.
Hiero, tyrant of Syracuse, v. 10, § 31; his employment of detectives and eavesdroppers, ib. 11, § 7; duration of his tyranny, ib. 12, §§ 5, 6.
Hipparinus, aided Dionysius to gain the tyranny of Syracuse, v. 6, § 8.
Hippocrates, 'the great physician,' vii. 4, § 5.
Hippodamus, of Miletus, the planner of cities, ii. 8, § 1; vii. 11, § 6; his character and appearance, ii. 8, § 1; peculiarities of his constitution, §§ 2-7; objections to it, ib. §§ 8-17.
Homer, calls Zeus 'the father of Gods and men,' i. 12, § 2:—quoted,
Il. ii. 204; iv. 4, § 27; ib. 372; iii. 16, § 10; v. 391-393; ib. 14, § 5; ix. 63; i. 2, § 9; ib. 319; ii. 7, § 10; ib. 648; iii. 5, § 9; x. 224; ib. 16, § 10; xviii. 376; i. 4, § 3;
Odyss. ix. 7; viii. 3, § 9; ib 14; i. 2, § 7; xvii. 385; viii. 3, § 9:
—a passage is also cited, viii. 3, § 8, which does not occur in our Homer.
Homicide, one of Hippodamus' three divisions of laws, ii. 8, § 4; laws of Androdamas respecting, ib. 12, § 14; suits concerning, tried at Sparta by the Elders, iii. 1, § 10; (cp. ii. 9, § 25).
Honour, inequality in, a cause of revolutions, ii. 7, §§ 10-13, 18-20; v. 2, § 2; 3, §§ 2, 14; 4, §§ 8-10; 12, § 18; the remedy for this, v. 8, § 12; 11, §§ 26, 27; the citizen must share in the honours of the state, iii. 5, § 9; (cp. c. 10, §§ 4, 5); honour less desired by men than wealth, iv. 13, § 8; v. 8, § 16; vi. 4, § 3; (cp. vi 7, § 7).
Honours, conferred in many states for military exploits, vii. 2, §§ 10-12.
Horses, keeping of, a mark of great wealth in old times, iv. 3, § 3; 13, § 10; vi. 7, § 1.
Household management, the art of, distinguished from the rule of a master, i. 1, § 2; 3, § 4; 7, § 1; iii. 6, §§ 6, 7; divided into three parts, i. 3, §§ 1-3; 12, § 1; how related to money-making, ib. 3, § 3; 8, §§ 1, 2; 9, §§ 1, 12-18; 10, §§ 1-4; includes the natural art of acquisition, ib. 4, § 1; 8, §§ 13-15; 9, §§ 1-8; 10, §§ 1-4; 11, §§ 1-3; has a limit, ib. 9, §§ 14, 18; is more concerned with virtue than with wealth, ib. 13, § 1; the parts of men and women in, different, iii. 4, § 17; exists for the benefit of those under it, ib. 6, §§ 6, 7.
Hunting, a species of war, i. 7, § 5; 8, § 12; vii. 2, § 15; 14, § 21; the different branches of, i. 8, § 7.
Husband and wife, relation of. [*See* 'Male' and 'Female.']
Husbandmen, are sometimes hunters, i. 8, § 8: would be better suited for Plato's communism than the guardians, ii. 4, § 4; make the best form of democracy, iv. 6, § 2; 12, § 3; vi. 4, §§ 1, 8-10; furnish good sailors, vii. 6, § 8; should not be citizens, ib. 9, § 8; 10, §§ 13, 14; nor admitted to office, ib. 9, § 9; should be excluded from the 'Freemen's Agora,' ib. 12, § 3.

Husbandry, a part of the natural art of money-making, i. 8, § 3; 10, § 3; 11, § 2.

I.

Iapygia, vii. 10, § 5:—Iapygians, the, defeat of the Tarentines by, v. 3, § 7.
Iberians, the, a warlike nation, vii. 2, § 11.
Imitations of our emotions, given by music, viii. 5, §§ 15-24.
Inactivity, not to be preferred to action, vii. 3, § 3 (cp. c. 14, §§ 10-14).
Indefinite office, he who shares in, a citizen, iii. 1, §§ 7, 11.
India, the kings of, have a natural superiority to their subjects, vii. 14, § 3.
Inferior, the, exists for the sake of the superior, vii. 14, § 10.
Inheritance, sale of an, forbidden, ii. 7, § 6; (at Sparta), ib. 9, § 14 (cp. v. 8, § 20); the division of an, may be a cause of revolution, v. 4, § 4.
Injustice, the sense of, peculiar to man, i. 2, § 12.
Inspectors of Forests, vi. 8, § 6; vii. 12, § 8.
Instincts, the, of animals, i. 5, § 9; vii. 13, § 12.
Instruments, best when made for one use, i. 2, § 3; may be either living or lifeless, ib. 4, § 2; are used either in production or in action, ib. §§ 4-6; are never unlimited in the arts, ib. 8, §§ 14, 15; the slave a living instrument, ib. 4, §§ 2, 6.
Instruments, musical, the, allowed to the freeman, viii. 6, §§ 9-14.
Intermarriage, rights of, iii. 9, §§ 10, 13.
Invention, every, has been made many times over, ii. 5, § 16; vii. 10, § 7.
Invention of tactics, iv. 13, § 10; — of siege machines, vii. 11, § 9.
Ionia, origin of tyrannies in, v. 10, § 6.
Ionian Gulf, the, vii. 10, § 5.
Iphiades, a party leader at Abydos, v. 6, § 13.
Istros, revolution at, v. 6, § 2.
Italus, king of Oenotria, gave his name to Italy, vii. 10, § 3; introduced common tables, ib. § 4.
Italy, antiquity of common tables in, vii. 10, §§ 2-6; took its name from Italus, ib. § 3.

J.

Jason, tyrant of Pherae, saying ascribed to, iii. 4, § 9.
Judges, not allowed to communicate with each other, ii. 8, § 13; should not hold office for life, ib. 9, § 25; necessary, even in the first beginnings of the state, iv. 4, §§ 13, 14; the various modes of appointing them, ib. 16, §§ 5-7; provision for an equal division of opinion among judges, vi. 3, § 6; those who inflict penalties to be different from those who see to their execution, ib. 8, §§ 8-11.
Judicial decisions, necessary to the existence of society, vi. 8, § 9; vii. 13, § 6; — element, the, in the state, iv. 14, §§ 1-2; — functions, the citizen must share in, iii. 1, §§ 6-12.
Justice, the sense of, peculiar to man, i. 2, § 12; the bond of men in states, ib. § 16; iii. 12, § 9; 13, § 3; (cp. iv. 4, § 13); sometimes defined as benevolence, i. 6, § 4; different in men and women, ib. 13, §§ 3, 9; in the ruler and the subject, ib. §§ 2-8; iii. 4, §§ 16-18; consists in equality, iii. 9, § 1; 12, § 1; 13, § 12; vii. 14, § 3; cannot be the destruction of the state, iii. 10, § 2; cannot be united with the love of conquest, vii. 2, §§ 7-18; selfishness of the ordinary notions of justice, vi. 3, § 6; vii. 2, § 14; all claims to rule based upon partial and relative justice only, iii. 9, §§ 1-6, 15; v. 1, §§ 2-6; 9, § 1; vi. 2, § 2; 3, §§ 1-4.

K.

Kettles, made at Larissa, iii. 2, § 2.
King, the, not the same with the statesman, i. 1, § 2; ought to be chosen for merit (as at Carthage),

ii. 9, § 29; 11, § 4; receives a special education, iii. 4, § 8; may be justified in putting down his rivals, ib. 13, § 22; v. 11, § 27; is the champion of the better classes against the people, v. 10, § 3; often supreme in religious matters, iii. 14, § 13; vi. 8, § 20; should he have a military force? iii. 15, §§ 14–16; is guarded by the citizens, ib. 14, § 7; v. 10, § 10.

King, the true, or natural superior of the citizens, iii. 13, §§ 13, 24, 25; 17, §§ 5–8; vii. 3, § 6; unknown in later Hellas, v. 10, § 37. [*See* Royalty.]

King, a, the Gods, why supposed to be under, i. 2, § 7; 12, § 3.

Kings, the, of Crete (in ancient times), ii. 10, § 6; of Carthage, ib. 11, §§ 3–6, 9, 10; of Macedonia, v. 10, § 8; of the Molossians, ib.; 11, § 2; of Persia, viii. 5, § 5; of Sparta [*see* Lacedaemon]: — Kings, the ancient, sometimes became tyrants, v. 10, § 5.

Knights, the, at Athens, ii. 12, § 6; at Eretria, v. 6, § 14.

L.

Lacedaemon; frequent wars of the Lacedaemonians with their neighbours, ii. 9, §§ 3, 11; their difficulties with the Helots, ib. §§ 2–4 (cp. ib. 5, § 22); the Messenian Wars, ib. 9, § 11; v. 7, §§ 3, 4; the conspiracy of the Partheniae, v. 7, § 2; —of Pausanias, ib. 1, § 10; 7, § 4; vii. 14, § 20; —of Cinadon, v. 7, § 3; —of Lysander, ib. 1, § 10; 7, § 2; the putting down of the tyrants, ib. 10, § 30; the subject cities governed in the oligarchical interest by the Lacedaemonians, iv. 11, § 18; v. 7, § 14: — friendship among the Lacedaemonians, ii. 5, § 7; agriculture forbidden to them, ib. § 17; simplicity of life among them, ib. 6, § 17; iv. 9, §§ 6–9; excellence of the Lacedaemonian education, iv. 9, § 7; viii. 1, § 4 (*but* cp. vii. 2, § 9; viii. 4, § 1); music not comprised in it, viii. 5, § 7; Lacedaemonian training only advantageous while other nations did not train, ib. 4, §§ 4–7; rage for flute-playing at Lacedaemon after the Persian War, ib. 6, § 12; error of the Lacedaemonians in thinking the objects of their desire preferable to the virtue which gained them, ii. 9, § 35 (cp. vii. 1, § 5); spirit of distrust in the Lacedaemonian government, ii. 9, § 30; bad management of the revenue, ib. § 36; frequency of corruption, ib. §§ 19, 26; 10, § 12; accumulation of property, ib. 9, §§ 13, 14; v. 7, §§ 3, 10 (cp. v. 12, § 15); number of heiresses, ii. 9, § 15; decrease in population, ib. §§ 14–19; encouragement of large families, ib. § 14; expulsion of strangers, ib. 10, § 15; strangers admitted to citizenship in ancient times, ib. 9, § 17; license of the Lacedaemonian women, ib. §§ 5–13: —the Lacedaemonian constitution a combination of various forms of government, ib. 6, §§ 16, 17; 9, § 22; — an aristocracy with an element of democracy, iv. 7, § 4 (cp. ii. 9, § 20; 10, § 10); — regarded by some as a democracy, by others as an oligarchy, iv. 9, §§ 6–10; — often considered the next best to the ideal state, ii. 6, § 16; iv. 1, § 6; — its resemblance to the Cretan, ii. 10, §§ 4–7; — to the Carthaginian, ib. 11, §§ 3–5; the arrangement of the law-courts at Lacedaemon, an aristocratical feature, ib. § 7; iii. 1, §§ 10, 11; the attention of the legislator directed solely to war, ii. 9, §§ 34, 35; vii. 2, § 9; 14, §§ 16–22; viii. 4, §§ 1–7: —imperfections of the Lacedaemonian monarchy, ii. 9, §§ 29, 30; 11, §§ 3, 4; limited powers of the kings, iii. 14, § 3; v. 11, § 2; their office an hereditary generalship, ii. 9, § 33; iii. 14, §§ 4, 5, 14; 15, §§ 1, 2; 16, § 1; origin of their power, v. 10, § 8; reason of its long continuance, ib. 11, § 2: — the Gerusia criticised, ii. 9, §§ 25–29; 11, §§ 4, 11; v. 6, § 11: — faults and

merits of the Ephoralty, ii. 6, § 17; 9, §§ 19–24, 26; 10, §§ 10, 12; 11, § 3; established by Theopompus as a check on the royal power, v. 11, §§ 2, 3; — the office of admiral, ii. 9, § 33: — the common tables, why instituted, ib. 5, § 15; 6, § 17; 9, §§ 31, 32; iv. 9, § 8; not so well managed as in Crete, ii. 9, § 32; 10, §§ 7, 8.
Lametic Gulf, the, vii. 10, § 3.
Land, the, should be divided into two portions, vii. 10, § 11 (*but* cp. ii. 6, § 15): Hippodamus' division of, ii. 8, §§ 3, 12;—should it be cultivated by the owners? ib. 5, §§ 3, 18, 19; 8, §§ 8–13; vii. 9, §§ 1–4; 10, §§ 13, 14; — at Sparta, had fallen into the hands of a few, ii. 9, §§ 14, 15.
Landowners, small, to be encouraged, vi. 4, §§ 8–10.
Larissa, the kettle-makers of, iii. 2, § 2; democratical revolution at, v. 6, § 6; overthrow of the Aleuadae, ib. § 13.
Law, at Aphytis, regulating the census of properties, vi. 4, § 10; at Athens, providing for the maintenance of children of citizens slain in battle, ii. 8, § 6; at Cumae, about murder, ib. § 21; in Egypt, about physicians, iii. 15, § 4; at Epidamnus, about the employment of public slaves, ii. 7, § 23; at Thebes, excluding from the government persons who had not given up business for ten years, iii. 5, § 7; vi. 7, § 4:—forbidding inhabitants on the border from voting in a debate on war or peace, vii. 10, § 12:—Laws, to limit the acquisition or sale of land, ii. 7, §§ 6, 7; 9, § 14; against moneymaking in oligarchies, v. 12, § 14; to promote peasant proprietorship, vi. 4, §§ 8–10.
Law, the, of Oxylus, vi. 4, § 9:—Laws, the, of Androdamas, ii. 12, § 14; of Charondas, ib. §§ 6–8, 11; iv. 13, § 2; of Draco, ii. 12, § 13; of Lycurgus (*see* Sparta); of Minos, ii. 10, § 3; vii. 10, § 1; of Phaleas, ii. 7; 12, § 12; of Philolaus, ib. 12, §§ 8–10; of Pittacus, ib. § 13; of Plato (*see* Plato); of Solon, ii. 7, § 6; 12, §§ 1–6; iii. 11, § 8; of Zaleucus, ii. 12, § 6.
Law, the, derives its force from habit, ii. 8, § 24; 'a surety of justice' (Lycophron), iii. 9. § 8; may have a party character, ib. 10, § 5; 11, § 20; only exists for equals, ib. 13, §§ 13, 14; 16, §§ 2, 3; must be supported by force in the ruler, ib. 15, §§ 14, 15; is a mean, ib. 16, § 8; is order, vii. 4, § 8; is without passion, iii. 15, § 5; the rule of, the rule of God, ib. 16, § 5 (cp. i. 2, §§ 15, 16); — should the law or the monarch rule? iii. 15, §§ 1–10; 16; —should the law ever be changed? ii. 8, §§ 16–25 (cp. iii. 15, §§ 6, 7; 16, § 5):—Laws, the, cannot provide for circumstances, ii. 8, § 22; iii. 11, § 19; 15, §§ 4–8; 16, §§ 4–13; should be supreme, and the magistrates only their interpreters, iii. 11, § 19; 16, §§ 5, 10–12; iv. 4, § 31; are relative to the constitution, but distinct from it, iii. 11, § 20; iv. 1, §§ 9, 10; must be obeyed and must be good, iv. 4, § 30; 8, §§ 5, 6.
Law, the, or convention, by which prisoners of war become slaves, i. 6, §§ 1, 5.
Law, unwritten, importance of, iii. 16, § 9.
Laws, the, of Hellenic cities generally in a chaotic state, vii. 2, § 9.
Laws, the, of Plato (*see* Plato).
Laws, division of, proposed by Hippodamus, ii. 8, § 4.
Law Courts, the, at Athens:—(i) The Areopagus (*see* Council of Areopagus):—(ii) The Dicasteries; their members paid, ii. 7, § 19; 12, § 4; formed the democratic element in the Athenian constitution, ib. 12, §§ 2–5:—(iii) The court of Phreatto, iv. 16, § 3.
Law Courts, the, oligarchical and democratical tricks with, iv. 9, § 2; 13, §§ 2, 5; 14, § 12; the rich should be encouraged to attend, even in democracies, vi. 5, § 5; used by the demagogues to ruin

the rich, v. 3, § 4; 5, §§ 1–5; vi. 5, § 3.
Law courts, the possible varieties of, iv. 16.
Lawgiver, Onomacritus said to have been the first, ii. 12, § 7.
Legislator, the, must have regard to the country and the people, ii. 6, § 7; 7, §§ 14–17; must pay attention to the foreign relations of the state, ib.; ib.; vii. 2, § 18; must secure leisure for his citizens, ii. 9, § 2; 11, §§ 10, 12; vii. 9, §§ 3, 7 (cp. vii. 12, § 7); must not trust to accidents, ii. 11, §§ 15, 16; vii. 13, §§ 8–10; must regard the common good, iii. 13, § 12; ought not to want such a principle as ostracism, ib. § 23; v. 3, § 3; must know all possible forms of states, iv. 1, § 8; and the causes of their preservation and destruction, v. 9, § 9; vi. 5, § 2; must be able to reform as well as to create a state, iv. 1, § 7; should favour the middle class, ib. 12, § 4; must consider the deliberative, executive, and judicial elements in relation to the constitution of each state, ib. 14, § 1; must be modest in his designs, ii. 6, § 7; vii. 4, § 2; should not make conquest the aim of his state, vii. 2; must give all the citizens a share in the administration, ib. 14, § 4; must have a care of education, ib. §§ 1, 8; 15, § 8; viii. 1, §§ 1, 2; must not neglect physical education, vii. 16, § 1.
Legislators, the best, belonged to the middle class, iv. 11, § 15.
Leisure, the, of the citizens, the first object of the legislator, ii. 9, § 2; 11, §§ 10–12; vii. 9, §§ 3, 4, 7 (cp. vii. 12, § 7); the citizen must know the right uses of, vii. 14, §§ 13–22; viii. 3; 5, § 4; needed for virtue, vii. 9, § 4.
Leontini, tyranny of Panaetius at, v. 10, § 6; 12, § 13.
Lesbos, subjection of, by the Athenians, iii. 13, § 19.
Leucas, changes introduced at, by the abolition of a law against the sale of a man's patrimony, ii. 7, § 7.
Liberality, destroyed by communism, ii. 5, § 10; must be conjoined with temperance, ib. 6, § 9; vii. 5, § 1.
Liberty, supposed to be the characteristic feature of democracy, iii. 8, § 7; iv. 4, §§ 22, 23; 8, § 7; v. 1, § 3; 8, § 6; 9, §§ 14, 15; vi. 2, §§ 1–4, 9; 4, § 20; must not be confused with licence, v. 9, § 15: — should be held out as a reward to slaves, vii. 10, § 14.
Libya, Upper, community of wives in, ii. 3, § 9.
Licence of the Spartan women, ii. 9, §§ 5–13; of slaves and women in democracies and tyrannies, v. 11, § 11; vi. 4, § 20; must not be confused with liberty, v. 9, § 15.
Life, action, not production, i. 4, § 5; pleasure of, iii. 6, § 5; is the speculative or the practical, better? vii. 2, §§ 5-18; 3: — divided by the poets into periods of seven years, ib. 16, § 17; 17, § 15: — simplicity of, at Sparta, ii. 6, § 17; iv. 9, § 7.
Life, the, both of the citizens and the magistrates should be in harmony with the constitution, ii. 9, § 24; v. 8, § 13.
Life, the good, not desired by mankind in general, i. 9, § 16; the object of the existence of the state, ib. 2, § 8; iii. 9, §§ 6–14; iv. 4, § 12; vii. 1, § 1; 2, § 17; 4, § 11; 8, § 4; is it the same for states and for individuals? vii. 1; 2; 3, § 10.
Limit, a, necessary in the arts, i. 8, § 14; 9, § 13; iii. 13, § 21; vii. 4, § 10; in population, ii. 6, §§ 6, 10; 7, § 5; 9, § 19; vii. 4, §§ 4–11; 5, § 1; 16, § 15; in the state, ii. 6, § 7; iii. 3, §§ 4–7; vii. 4; 5, § 1; in wealth, i. 8, § 14; 9, § 14; ii. 6, §§ 8, 9; 7, §§ 4–8; vii. 5, § 1.
Live stock, the knowledge of, a part of the natural art of money-making, i. 11, §§ 1, 2.
Lives, the different, of men and animals, i. 8, §§ 4–12; vi. 4, §§ 1, 11.

Locri (in Italy), received laws from Zaleucus, ii. 12, § 6; ruined by a marriage connexion with Dionysius, v. 7, § 10: Locrians, law among the, forbidding the sale of property, ii. 7, § 6.
Lot, use of the, characteristic of democracy, ii. 11, § 7; 12, § 3; iv. 9, § 4; 15, § 19; vi. 2, §§ 5, 8; modes in which it may be used in elections of magistrates, iv. 15, §§ 16–22.
Love, would be weakened by communism, ii. 4, § 7; influence of, among warlike races, ib. 9, §§ 8, 9; may easily change into hatred, vii. 7, § 8.
Love of boys, prevalent among warlike races, ii. 9, §§ 8, 9; encouraged in Crete, ib. 10, § 9.
Love quarrels, a cause of revolutions, v. 4, § 1.
Luxury of the Spartan women, ii. 9, § 6; of the rich, in oligarchies, iv. 11, § 6; 15, § 13; v. 9, § 13.
Lycophron, the Sophist, his conception of law, iii. 9, § 8.
Lyctus, in Crete, a colony of the Lacedaemonians, ii. 10, § 2.
Lycurgus, the author of the Lacedaemonian constitution, ii. 10, § 2; 12, § 1; was the guardian of Charilaus, ib. 10, § 2; his visit to Crete, ib.; his failure to bring the women under his laws, ib. 9, §§ 11, 12; said by some to have been a disciple of Thales, ib. 12, § 7; belonged to the middle class, iv. 11, § 15.
Lydian Harmony, the: *see* Harmony.
Lydian Harp, the, viii. 6, § 13.
Lydian War, the, iv. 4, § 5.
Lygdamis, tyrant of Naxos, v. 6, § 1.
Lysander, the conspiracy of, v. 1, § 10; 7, § 2.

M.

Macedonia, origin of the royal power in, v. 10, § 8; ancient law in, that he who had not slain an enemy should wear a halter, vii. 2, § 10.
Magistrates, power of calling to account [*see* Account, power of calling magistrates to]; division of law-suits among the Lacedaemonians and Carthaginian magistrates, ii. 11, § 7; iii. 1, § 10 (cp. iv. 14, § 3); election of magistrates by merit characteristic of aristocracy, ii. 11, §§ 7, 9; iv. 15, § 10;—for wealth, of oligarchy, ii. 6, § 19; 11, § 9; iv. 15, § 10; choice by lot, of democracy, ii. 6, § 19; 12, § 3; iv. 15, § 19; vi. 2, §§ 5, 9; must be taken from those who carry arms, ii. 8, § 9; iv. 13, § 9; are very numerous in democracies, ii. 11, § 14; ought to be only the guardians and interpreters of the law, iii. 11, § 19; 16, §§ 5, 10–12; iv. 4, § 31; character and powers of the magistrates in aristocracies, iv. 14, § 10; 15, § 13; vi. 8, § 22; in constitutional governments, iv. 14, §§ 10, 16; in democracies, ib. §§ 1–7; 15, §§ 10–14; vi. 2, §§ 5–9; 8, §§ 17, 24; in oligarchies, iv. 14, §§ 8, 9; 15, §§ 10–14; vi. 8, §§ 17, 24; the magistrates peculiar to each constitution, iv. 15, §§ 11–13; vi. 8, §§ 17, 24; definition of the term 'magistrate,' iv. 15, §§ 1–4; should he hold more than one office? ii. 11, § 13; iv. 15, §§ 5–10; vi. 8, § 2; the various modes of appointment, iv. 15, §§ 14–21; vi. 5, § 11; popular election dangerous, v. 5, § 10; 6, § 6; the magistrates should not be allowed to make money, ib. 3, § 1; 8, § 15; vi. 7, § 5 (cp. v. 12, § 14); undue power acquired by them a cause of revolution, v. 3, § 3; 4, §§ 8–11; great authority of the ancient magistrates, iii. 16, § 1; v. 1, § 10; 5, § 8; 10, § 5; vi. 2, § 8; the magistrates may prevent revolutions by prudence, v. 8, § 8; manner in which they should act in oligarchies, vi. 5, §§ 10, 11; 7, §§ 4–7; enumeration of the different magistrates required by states, vi. 8; the magistrates must know the characters of their fellow-citizens, vii. 4, § 13; must suppress obscenity, ib. 17, § 10:—Magistrates, certain, required by law to take

their meals together, vi. 2, § 7; vii. 12, § 2.
Accountants, vi. 8, § 16; Archon (the single, at Epidamnus and Opus), iii. 16, § 1; v. 1, § 10; Archons, vi. 8, § 20; Auditors, ib. § 16; Controllers, ib.; Corn Measurers, iv. 15, § 3; Councillors, ib. § 11; vi. 8, §§ 17, 24; (at Thurii), v. 7, § 13; Demiurgi (at Larissa), iii. 2, § 2; Directors of Education, vii. 17, §§ 5, 7; of Gymnastics, vi. 8, § 22; Eleven, the (at Athens), ib. § 11; Fountains, officers in charge of, ib. § 5; Guardians of Children, iv. 15, §§ 9, 13; vi. 8, § 22; of the Citizens (at Larissa), v. 6, § 6; of the Laws, iv. 14, § 14; vi. 8, § 22; of Shrines, vi. 8, § 19; of Women, iv. 15, §§ 9, 13; vi. 8, § 22; Harbour Masters, vi. 8, §§ 5, 21; Inspectors of Forests, vi. 8, § 6; vii. 12, § 8; Magistracy of the 104 at Carthage, ii. 11, § 3; of the 5, ib. § 7; of the 100, ib.; Prytanis (at Miletus), v. 5, § 8; Prytanes, vi. 8, § 20; Phylarchs (at Epidamnus), v. 1, § 10; Presidents, vi. 8, § 7; vii. 12, § 7; Receivers, vi. 8, § 7; Recorders, ib.; vii. 12, § 7; Revenue Officers, iv. 15, § 22; vi. 8, § 16; Sacred Recorders, vi. 8, § 7; vii. 12, § 7; Scrutineers, vi. 8, § 16; Superintendents of Dionysiac Contests, ib. § 22; of Gymnastic Exercises, ib.; of Sacrifices, ib. § 19; of the Walls, ib. § 5; Treasurers, ib. § 7; — of Sacred Revenues, ib. § 19; Wardens of the Agora, iv. 15, §§ 9, 22; vi. 8, §§ 10, 21; vii. 12, § 7; of the City, vi. 8, §§ 5, 10, 21; vii. 12, § 7; of the Country, vi. 8, §§ 6, 10, 21; vii. 12, § 8.
Magnesia (on the Maeander), possessed a great force of cavalry in ancient times, iv. 3, § 3.
Magnesians, The, constantly at war with the Thessalians, ii. 9, § 3.
Majority, the (in a state), difficulties about the power which should be possessed by, iii. 10; 11; 13, §§ 4–7; vi. 3.
Male and female, reason for the union of, i. 2, § 2; the relation of, part of the household, ib. 3, § 2; 12, § 1.
Male, the, intended by nature to rule over the female, i. 5, § 7; 12, § 1.
Malians, the, chose their magistrates from those actually on military service, iv. 13, § 9.
Man a political animal, i. 2, §§ 9. 14, 15; iii. 6, § 3; has a natural wish for posterity, i. 2, § 2; alone has the faculty of speech, ib. § 10; — the sense of good and evil, ib. § 12; — the power of reason, vii. 13, § 12; the worst of animals when not controlled by law and justice, i. 2, §§ 15, 16; must allow reason to direct nature and habit, vii. 13, §§ 11–13; should give the soul rule over the body, i. 5, §§ 4–7; the plants and animals created for his sake, ib. 8, § 12: — Man, the virtue of the, different from that of the woman, ib. 13, §§ 3, 9–11; iii. 4, § 16: — Men are unlimited in their desires, i. 9, §§ 16–18; ii. 7, §§ 8, 19; are wicked by nature, ii. 5, § 12; are more desirous of gain than of honour, iv. 13, § 8; v. 8, § 16; vi. 4, § 3; are satisfied with a moderate amount of virtue, vii. 1, § 5: — Men, the first, were ordinary, foolish people, ii. 8, § 21.
Mantinea, battle of, v. 4, § 9; government by representation at, vi. 4, § 4.
Marines, the, generally freemen in Hellenic cities, vii. 6, § 8.
Marriage, regulations respecting, vii. 16; — the marriage relation, i. 2, § 2; 3, §§ 1–3; 12; iii. 4, § 6.
Marriages, quarrels about, often a cause of revolutions, v. 4, §§ 5–8; 6, § 14.
Massalia, revolution at, v. 6, §§ 2, 3; persons of merit sometimes taken into the government, vi. 7, § 4.
Master, the, in relation to the slave, i. 2, §§ 2–5; 3, §§ 1–3; 12, § 1; 13, §§ 7, 12–14; has a common interest with the slave, ib. 6, § 10; iii. 6, § 6; vii. 14, § 6; ought to train the slave in virtue, i. 13,

§ 14;—the science peculiar to, ib. 3, § 4; 7, §§ 2–5; 13, § 14;—the rule of, ib. 3, § 4; iii. 4, § 11; vii. 14, § 6; wrongly supposed [by Plato] to be different from political rule, i. 1, § 2; 3, § 4.
Mean, importance of the, in states, iv. 11; v. 9, § 6; in education, viii. 6, § 7; 7, § 15.
Means, the, of the arts, not unlimited, i. 8, §§ 14, 15; 9, § 13.
Mechanic, the: *see* Artisan.
Medes, the, iii. 13, § 19; the Median kings not taught music, viii. 5, § 5.
Medicine, the art of, has no limit of its end, i. 9, § 13; aims at health, not money-making, ib. § 17; its relation to household management, ib. 10, §§ 3, 4; has, like other arts, undergone improvement, ii. 8, § 18. (*See* Physician.)
Megacles, the leader of the attack on the Penthalidae at Mitylene, v. 10, § 19.
Megara, iii. 9, § 9; the government of, once confined to persons who had fought against the democracy, iv. 15, § 15; the oligarchical revolution, v. 3, § 5; 5, § 4; rise of Theagenes to the tyranny, ib. 5, § 9.
Mercenaries, admitted to citizenship at Syracuse (B.C. 466), v. 3, § 13; the tyrant's guard composed of, iii. 14, § 7; v. 10, § 10.
Merchant seamen, number of, at Aegina and Chios, iv. 4, § 21; at Heraclea in Pontus, vii. 6, § 8.
Messenians, the, enmity of, to the Lacedaemonians, ii. 9, §§ 3, 11.
Messenian War, the (Second), v. 7, § 3.
Method, the, of investigation [ὁ ὑφηγημένος τρόπος] pursued by Aristotle, i. 1, § 3; 8, § 1.
Metics: *see* Aliens.
Midas, the fable of, i. 9, § 11.
Middle class, virtues of the, iv. 11; 12; the middle class state the best, ib. 11, §§ 8–15; 12, § 4; v. 8, § 14; 9, § 6; smallness of the middle class in ancient states, iv. 13, § 11.
Might and right, i. 6, § 3; vi. 3, § 6; vii. 2, § 13.
Miletus, the oil presses in, bought up by Thales, i. 11, § 9; great powers of the ancient magistrates at, v. 5, § 8.
Milk, given by nature as the food of young animals, i. 8, § 10; 10, § 3; the best food for children, vii. 17, § 1.
Mind, the, grows old as well as the body, ii. 9, § 25; must not be educated at the same time as the body, viii. 4, § 9.
Mining, an intermediate species of money-making, i. 11, §§ 4, 5.
Minos, the Cretan law-giver, ii. 10, § 3; his laws retained by the Perioeci, ib.; introduced the common tables into Crete, vii. 10, §§ 2, 6; his death at Camicus, ii. 10, § 4.
Mithridates (? Satrap of Pontus), conspiracy of, against Ariobarzanes, v. 10, § 25.
Mitylene, dictatorship of Pittacus at, iii. 14, § 10; origin of the war with Athens, v. 4, §§ 5, 6; slaughter of the Penthalidae, ib. 10, § 19.
Mixo-Lydian Harmony, the: *see* Harmony.
Mnaseas, a Phocian, v. 4, § 7.
Mnason, a Phocian, v. 4, § 7.
Moderation in eating, encouraged at the Cretan common tables, ii. 10, § 9; — in politics, necessary for the salvation of the state, iv. 11, §§ 16–19; v. 9, § 6; vi. 5, § 2.
Molossians, the, in Epirus, origin of the royal power among, v. 10, § 8; good government of the Molossian kings, ib. 11, § 2.
Monarchy, arguments for and against, iii. 15–17.
Monarchy: *see* King, Royalty, *and* Tyranny.
Money, origin of, i. 9, § 8; its conventional nature, ib. § 11; ought not to be made from money, ib. 10, § 5.
Money-making, the art of, how related to household management, i. 3, § 3; 8, §§ 1, 2; 9, §§ 1, 12–18; 10, §§ 1–4; the natural kind,

ib. 8, §§ 3–15; 9, §§ 1–8; 10, §§ 1–4; 11, §§ 1, 2; the unnatural, ib. 9, § 1 foll.; 10, §§ 4, 5; 11, § 3; the intermediate, ib. 11, § 4; the unnatural pursues its end without limit, ib. 9, §§ 13–15.
Money-making, tales about, i. 11, §§ 7–13.
Monopolies, a common method of gaining wealth, i. 11, §§ 8–13.
Morals, have a connexion with figures and colours, viii. 5, § 21.
Mortar-makers, iii. 2, § 2.
Multitude, the, their claim to the supreme power, iii. 10, § 1; are better collectively than the individual, ib. 11; 13, § 4; 15; should have power only to elect and control the magistrates, ib. 11, § 7.
Murder, expiations for, impossible if women are common, ii. 4, § 1; absurd law about, at Cumae, ib. 8, § 20; cases of, tried at Sparta by the elders, iii. 1, § 10 (cp. ii. 9, § 25).
Musaeus, quoted, viii. 5, § 11.
Music, subject to a ruling principle, i. 5, § 4; better judged of by the many than by the individual, iii. 11, § 3; useful (1) in education, viii. 3; 5; 7, § 3; (2) for the intellectual employment of leisure, ib. 3; 5, §§ 8, 9; 7, § 3; (3) with a view to purification, ib. 7, §§ 3–6; has an effect upon morals, ib. 5, §§ 7, 15–25; 6, §§ 1, 6; 7, §§ 3–7; not taught at Lacedaemon, ib. 5, § 7; naturally pleasant to men, ib. §§ 8, 11, 25; 7, § 6; produces enthusiasm, ib. 5, §§ 16, 22; 7, § 4; allays the passions, ib. 6, § 9; 7, §§ 4–6; a rattle for children of a larger growth, ib. 6, § 2; cannot be judged except by a performer, ib. § 4 (*but* cp. c. 5, § 7); must not be pursued to the point of professional excellence, ib. 6, §§ 7, 15; includes a higher and a lower kind, ib. § 8; 7, § 6; is composed of melody and rhythm, ib. 5, § 18; 6, § 5; 7, § 1.
Music, writers upon, viii. 5, § 23; 7, §§ 2, 3, 8, 11, 14.
Musical Harmonies: *see* Harmony.
Musical Instruments, which may be used in education, viii. 6.
Myron, tyrant at Sicyon, v. 12, § 12.
Mytilene, *see* Mitylene.

N.

Nature, implants in man a desire of posterity, i. 2, § 2; makes a distinction between the ruler and the ruled, ib.; 4, § 6; 5; 6, § 8; 12; 13, § 4; — between the female and the slave, ib. 2, § 3; her designs must be sought in things which are uncorrupted, ib. 5, § 5; does nothing in a niggardly fashion, ib. 2, § 3; creates nothing in vain, ib. § 10; 8, § 12; ii. 5, § 8; gives to man the social instinct, ib. 2, §§ 10–16; iii. 6, §§ 3–5; not always able to accomplish her intentions, i. 5, § 10; 6, § 8; supplies food for all, ib. 8, §§ 9–12; 10, § 3; has given all freemen a right to rule, ii. 2, § 6; iii. 16, §§ 2, 3; fits the young to obey, the old to command, vii. 9, § 6; permits proper relaxation, viii. 3, § 2; herself suggests the proper harmonies for each age, ib. 7, § 13;—forms one element in virtue, vii. 13, §§ 11–13; 15, § 7; must be supplemented by art and education, ib. 17, § 15;
Naval force, the, which should be possessed by the state, vii. 6, §§ 6–9.
Naxos, tyranny of Lygdamis at, v. 6, § 1.
Necessaries, the, of life, the object of the natural art of acquisition, i. 4, § 1; 9, §§ 2–7.
Necessity the mother of invention, vii. 10, § 7.
Nobility, among Barbarians only partially recognized by Hellenes, i. 6, § 7; confers a claim to superiority in the state, iii. 9, § 15; 12, § 9; 13, §§ 2–5; iv. 8, § 3; may be defined (1) as excellence of race, iii. 13, § 3; v. 1, § 7; (2) as ancient wealth and virtue, iv. 8, § 9; confused by mankind with wealth, ib. §§ 4, 8; v. 7, § 1; like virtue, is not often found, v. 1, § 14.

Nobles, quarrels among, a cause of revolutions, v. 1, § 16; 4, § 1; 6, § 5; 8, § 9; form a democracy among themselves, ib. 8, § 6; should be humane to the subject classes, iv. 13, § 8; vi. 5, §§ 5–11.
Notium; quarrel between the Notians and the Colophonians, v. 3, § 15.
Number, the, of the citizens must be considered by the legislator, vii. 4, § 4 (cp. ii. 6, § 6).
Number, the, of Plato, v. 12, §§ 7–9.

O.

Oath, the, of the ancient kings was the stretching out of the sceptre, iii. 14, § 12.
Oaths, sworn in oligarchies, v. 9, §§ 10, 11.
Obedience, the necessary preliminary to command, iii. 4, §§ 10, 14; vii. 9, § 6; 14, § 6.
Obligations, sometimes disavowed after a revolution, iii. 3, § 2.
Obscenity, must be forbidden among the citizens, vii. 17, §§ 8–10; permitted at the festival of certain Gods, ib. § 10.
Odysseus, viii. 3, § 9.
Œnophyta, battle of, v. 3, § 5.
Œnotrians, the (in Southern Italy), antiquity of common meals among, vii. 10, §§ 3–5.
Office, the 'indefinite,' in which all the citizens share, iii. 1, §§ 6–12; 2, § 5.
Office, lust of mankind for, iii. 6, § 10; oligarchical tricks to keep the poor from, iv. 13, §§ 1–4; justice of the various claims to, iii. 10–13:—Offices, the, of the state, posts of honour, ib. 10, § 4; their distribution, iv. 15; vi. 8; their organization determines the character of each constitution, iv. 1, § 10; 3, § 5; in small states must be combined, in large ones specialized, ii. 11, § 14; iv. 15, §§ 5–7; vi. 8, § 2; in democracies restricted to six months' tenure, v. 8, § 6; (cp. vi. 2, § 5); and rarely held more than once by the same person, iii. 1, § 6; vi. 2, § 5; should be divided into two classes, v. 8, § 21; vi. 5, § 11.
Offices, sale of, and pluralism, at Carthage, ii. 11, §§ 10, 13.
Oligarchy, the government of the few for their private interests, iii. 6, § 2; 8, § 3;—or, more correctly, of the wealthy, ib. 7, § 5; 8, §§ 6, 7; iv. 4, §§ 1–6, 19; 8, § 7; 11, §§ 16–19; v. 1, § 3; vi. 2, § 7; Plato wrong in thinking that an oligarchy can ever be called 'good,' iv. 2, § 3; oligarchy the perversion of aristocracy, iii. 7, § 5; 15, § 12; iv. 2, § 2; how distinguished from it, ii. 11, §§ 5–10; iv. 5, § 1; 7; 8, §§ 2–10; 14, § 10; v. 7, §§ 5–8; popularly supposed, like aristocracy, to be a 'government of the best,' iv. 8, § 4; v. 1, § 14; analogous to tyranny in love of wealth, v. 10, § 11; has more forms than one, iv. 1, § 8; 4, §§ 20–22; 12, § 3; 13, § 12; the forms enumerated, ib. 5, §§ 1–3; 6, §§ 7–11; 14, §§ 8–11; vi. 6; oligarchy less stable than democracy, iv. 11, § 14; v. 1, § 15; 7, § 6; the shortest lived of all forms of governments, excepting tyranny, v. 12, § 1; (cp. vi. 6, § 4;) the extreme form apt to pass into tyranny, iv. 11, § 11; v. 10, § 5; 12, § 13; the causes of revolutions in oligarchies, v. 3, § 14; 6; 12, §§ 15–18; the means of their preservation, ib. 6, § 9; 8, §§ 5–21; 9; vi. 6, § 5; 7;—the Lacedaemonians the champions of oligarchy in Hellas, iv. 11, § 18; v. 7, § 14;—the people to whom oligarchy is suited, iv. 2, § 4; 12, § 3;—the military strength of oligarchy derived from cavalry and heavy infantry, ib. 3, § 3; 13, § 10; vi. 7, § 1;—oligarchical modes of appointing magistrates and judges, ii. 6, §§ 19, 20; iv. 14, §§ 7–11; 15, §§ 14–21; 16, § 8; magistracies peculiar to oligarchy, iv. 14, § 14; 15, § 11; vi. 8, §§ 17, 24;—luxury of the women in oligarchies, iv. 15, § 13; bad education of the children, ib. 11, § 6; v. 9,

§ 13 :—the oligarchs sometimes forbidden to engage in trade, v. 12, § 14 ; their tricks to keep the power in their own hands, iv. 9, § 2 ; 13, §§ 1–4 ; 14, § 12 ; they ought rather to give the people a share in the government, ib. 14, § 14 ; vi. 5, § 11 ; 7, § 4 ; they should not take oaths against the people, v. 9, §§ 10, 11 ; they should not be allowed to make money by office, ib. 3, § 1 ; 8, § 15 ; vi. 7, § 5.
Olympic Games, the, injurious effects of the excessive training for, viii. 4, § 8.
Olympus, melodies of, viii. 5, § 16.
Onomacritus, the Locrian, supposed by some to have been the first legislator, ii. 12, § 7.
Onomarchus, a Phocian, v. 4, § 7.
Opici, the, or Ausones, vii. 10, § 5.
Opinion, true, the virtue of the subject, iii. 4, § 18.
Opus (in Locris), governed by a single magistrate, iii. 16, § 1.
Oratory, cultivation of, in later Hellas, v. 5, § 7.
Order, good, in the state, produced by the law, vii. 4, § 8.
Order, in the succession to office, ii. 11, § 4 ; regulated by law, iii. 16, § 3.
Oreus : *see* Hestiaea.
Orthagoras, tyranny of, at Sicyon, v. 12, § 1.
Ostracism, how far justifiable, iii. 13, §§ 13–25 ; 17, § 7 ; v. 3, § 3 ; 8, § 12.
Oviparous animals, i. 8, § 10.
Oxylus, king of Elis, law respecting mortgages attributed to, vi. 4, § 9.

P.

Paches, capture of Mitylene by, v. 4, § 6.
Painters, combine their works from scattered elements, iii. 11, § 4 ; like other artists, observe a rule of proportion, ib. 13, § 21 ; those who, like Polygnotus, express moral ideas, to be preferred, viii. 5, § 21.
Paintings, obscene, not to be allowed, vii. 17, § 9.
Panaetius, tyrant of Leontini, v. 10, § 6 ; 12, § 13.
Parent, the, relation of, to the child, i. 2, § 2 ; 3, § 2 ; 12 ; provides food for the offspring, ib. 8, § 10 ; 10, § 3.
Parrhon, of Aenos, one of the murderers of Cotys, v. 10, § 18.
Partheniae, the (at Lacedaemon), conspiracy of, v. 7, § 2.
Passion, intended by nature to be controlled by reason, i. 5, § 6 ; present in the human soul from the first, iii. 15, §§ 5, 8 ; 16, § 5 ; vii. 15, § 10 ; blinds men to danger, v. 10, § 34 ; 11, § 31 ; the multitude freer from passion than the individual, iii. 15, § 8.
Patrimony, laws forbidding the sale of a, ii. 7, § 6 ; 9, § 14 ; (cp. v. 8, § 20).
Patron, metics required to have a, iii. 1, § 4.
Pausanias, the assassin of Philip of Macedon, v. 10, § 16.
Pausanias, son of Cleombrotus, incorrectly called king, v. 1, § 10 ; vii. 14, § 20 ; his conspiracy, v. 1, § 10 ; 7, § 4 ; vii. 14, § 20.
Pauson, paintings of, viii. 5, § 21.
Payment of the democracy ; introduced at Athens by Pericles and Ephialtes, ii. 12, § 4 ; bad effects of the practice, ib. 7, § 19 ; iv. 6, § 5 ; vi. 2, § 6 ; how they may be counteracted, vi. 5, § 5.
Peace, the true object of war, vii. 14, §§ 13, 22 ; 15, §§ 1, 5 ; the dangers of, ib. 15, § 3.
Pediaei, the (or 'men of the plain'), at Athens, attacked by Peisistratus, v. 5, § 9.
Peisistratus, gained his tyranny by attacking the Pediaei, v. 5, § 9 ; tried before the Areopagus, ib. 12, § 2 ; twice driven from Athens, ib. § 5 ;—Peisistratidae, the, conspiracy of Harmodius and Aristogeiton against, v. 10, §§ 15, 34 ; built the temple of Olympian Zeus, ib. 11, § 9 ; length of their tyranny, ib. 12, § 5.
Peloponnesus, ii. 10, § 3 ; iii. 3, § 5 ; —Peloponnesian War, the : *see* War, Peloponnesian.

Penestae, the, difficulties of the Thessalians with, ii. 5, § 22; 9, § 2.
Pentacosio-medimni, the, in Solon's constitution, ii. 12, § 6.
Penthalidae, the, at Mitylene, slaughter of, v. 10, § 19.
Penthilus (? tyrant of Mitylene), assassination of, by Smerdis, v. 10, § 19.
Periander, tyrant of Ambracia, expelled by the people, v. 4, § 9; 10, § 16.
Periander, tyrant of Corinth, story of, and Thrasybulus, iii. 13, § 16; v. 10, § 13; the great master of tyrannic arts, v. 11, § 4; duration of his tyranny, ib. 12, § 3.
Pericles, curtailed the power of the Areopagus, and introduced the system of paying the dicasts, ii. 12, § 4.
Perioeci (in Argos), admitted to citizenship after 'Hebdome,' v. 3, § 7:—(in Crete), better managed than in Sparta, ii. 9, § 3; 10, § 16; correspond to the Helots, ib. 10, §§ 5, 16; retain the laws of Minos, ib. § 3; tribute paid by them, ib. § 8:—advantageous to have perioeci of foreign race as cultivators, vii. 9, § 8; 10, § 13.
Perjury, first made criminal by Charondas, ii. 12, § 11.
Permanence of the state, only secured by the loyalty of all classes, ii. 9, § 22; iv. 9, § 10; 12, § 1; v. 8, § 5; 9, § 5; vi. 6, § 2.
Perrhaebians, the, hostile to the Thessalians, ii. 9, § 3.
Persia; growth of the Persian empire, iii. 13, § 19; deposition of Astyages by Cyrus, v. 10, §§ 8, 24; tyrannical character of the Persian government, ib. 11, §§ 4, 6; military power held in esteem among the Persians, vii. 2, § 10; the Persian kings not taught music, viii. 5. § 5.
Persian War, the: *see* War, Persian.
Perversions, the, of the true forms of government, iii. 1, §§ 8–10; 6, § 11; 7; 17, § 1; iv. 2, §§ 1–3; 8, § 1; all governments perversions of the perfect state, iv. 8, § 1 (cp. ii. 11, § 5).
Phalaris, of Agrigentum, mode in which he acquired his tyranny, v. 10, § 6.
Phaleas of Chalcedon, the first to propose the equalization of property, ii. 7, § 2; 12, § 12; criticisms of his constitution, ib. 7.
Pharsalus, prudent administration of the oligarchical government at, v. 6, § 10;—the Pharsalian mare called 'the Just,' ii. 3, § 9.
Pheidon, tyrant of Argos, v. 10, § 6.
Pheidon, of Corinth, wished population to be regulated, ii. 6, § 13.
Philip, King of Macedonia, assassinated by Pausanias, v. 10, § 16.
Philolaus, legislated for the Thebans, ii. 12, §§ 8, 10;—story of Philolaus and Diocles, ib. § 10.
Philosopher, the, may be allowed to discuss practical questions, i. 11, § 1; has no difficulty in acquiring wealth, ib. §§ 8–10; must go below the surface of things, iii. 8, § 1; his life as distinguished from that of the statesman, vii. 2, § 6:—philosophers, the, not agreed about slavery, i. 6, § 2; the opinions of natural philosophers about marriage, vii. 16, § 11; philosophers who have treated of musical education, viii. 5, § 23; 7, §§ 2, 3, 8, 11, 14.
Philosophy, especially necessary in the prosperous, vii. 15, §§ 3, 4.
Philoxenus, attempted to compose dithyrambic tales in the Dorian mode, viii. 7, §§ 10, 11.
Phocis; the commencement of the Sacred War, v. 4, § 7.
Phocylides, quoted (fragm. 12, Bergk) iv. 11, § 9.
Phoxus, tyrant of Chalcis, v. 4, § 9.
Phreatto, court of, at Athens, iv. 16, § 3.
Phrygian harmony, the: *see* Harmony.
Phrynichus, played the demagogue in the government of the Four Hundred at Athens, v. 6, § 6.

Phylarchs, magistrates at Epidamnus, v. 1, § 10.
Physician, the, must be judged by the physician, iii. 11, §§ 10–12; is healed by the physician, ib. 16, § 8; is not expected to persuade or coerce his patients, vii. 2, § 13; must know both the end and the means of his art, ib. 13, § 2; precepts of the physicians about marriage, ib. 16, § 11; law about physicians in Egypt, iii. 15, § 4.
Pictures, indecent, to be forbidden, vii. 17, § 9.
Pillory, used as a punishment, v. 6, § 15.
Piraeus, laid out by Hippodamus ii. 8, § 1; the inhabitants of, more democratic than other Athenians, v. 3, § 15.
Pittacus, laws of, against drunkenness, ii. 12, § 13; elected Aesymnete in Mitylene, iii. 14, §§ 9, 10.
Planning of cities, invented by Hippodamus, ii. 8, § 1; vii. 11, § 6.
Plants, created for the sake of the animals, i. 8, § 11; sex (?) ascribed to, ib. 2, § 2.
Plato, criticisms of;—forms of government differ in kind (Pol. 258 E foll.), i. 1, § 2; 3, § 4; 7, § 1; the virtue of men and women not the same (Meno, 71–73), i. 13, §§ 9–11; slaves not always to be harshly treated (Laws, vi. 777), ib. § 14; disadvantages of community of wives and children, ii. 1, § 3–c. 5; of common property, ib. 5; vii. 10, § 9; the unity of the state may be carried too far, ii. 2, § 2–c. 3, § 4; 4, § 6; 5, § 13; men and women ought not to have the same pursuits (Rep. v. 451 D), ib. 5, § 24; danger from the rulers being always the same, ib. §§ 25, 26; happiness should not be confined to one class (Rep. iv. 419), ib. § 27; Plato has neglected the foreign relations of his state, ib. 6, § 7; amount of property allowed by him (Laws, v. 737 D) insufficient, ib. § 9; he should have limited population as well as property, ib. §§ 10–14; 7, § 4; he has not said how the rulers and subjects are related, ib. 6, § 14; why should not property in land be increased to a certain extent? ib. § 15; difficulty of living in two houses (Laws, v. 745), ib. § 16; the best state not made up of tyranny and democracy, ib. § 18; the state of the Laws really a mixture of oligarchy and democracy, ib. §§ 18–22; Plato's distinctions between good and bad constitutions (Pol. 303 A), iv. 2, § 3; his account of the classes necessary to a state (Rep. ii. 369), ib. 4, §§ 12–15; has not recognised the 'Polity' in his enumeration of constitutions, ib. 7, § 1; his theory of revolutions (Rep. viii. 546), v. 12, §§ 7–18; his error in saying that the guardians should be fierce to those whom they do not know (Rep. ii. 375), vii. 7, §§ 5–8:—that a valiant city needs no walls (Laws, vi. 778), ib. 11, § 8:—that the crying of children should be checked (Laws, vii. 792), ib. 17, § 6; his inconsistency in retaining the Phrygian mode (Rep. iii. 399), viii. 7, §§ 8–13:—the merits of Plato's writings, ii. 6, § 6; he departs from ordinary practice more than other legislators, ib. 7, § 1; peculiarities suggested by him, ib. 12, § 12:—justice of his censure of the Lacedaemonian constitution (Laws, i. 630), ib. 9, § 34:—how far right in wishing that his city should not be near the sea, vii. 6, §§ 1–4:—speech of Aristophanes in the Symposium quoted, ii. 4, § 6:—criticism of the Republic, ib. 1, § 3–c. 5; of the Laws, ib. 6.
Plays, the, of children, should be imitations of the occupations of later life, vii. 17, § 5.
Pleasure, always sought by mankind, i. 9, § 16; ii. 7, § 12; denied by Plato to his guardians, ii. 5, § 27; is regarded differently by different persons, viii. 3, § 5; the pleasure of living, iii. 6, § 4;

relation of pleasure to happiness, vii. 1, § 6; the natural pleasure given by music, viii. 5, §§ 11, 15, 17, 25; 6, § 8:—Pleasures, the, which are unaccompanied by pain, ii. 7, § 12.
Pluralism, at Carthage, ii. 11, § 13.
Poetry, better judged by the many than the individual, iii. 11, § 3.
Poets, the, divide life into periods of seven years, vii. 16, § 17; 17, § 15; never represent Zeus as singing or playing, viii. 5, § 8; employ the Phrygian harmony for dithyrambic poetry, ib. 7, § 11; their descriptions of the Isles of the Blest, vii. 15, § 4.
Polity: *see* Government, the Constitutional.
Polycrates, buildings of, at Samos, v. 11, § 9.
Polygnotus, the painter, viii. 5, § 21.
Poor, the, everywhere abound, iii. 8, § 6; v. 1, § 14; covet the goods of the rich, iv. 11, § 9; their degraded state in Hellenic cities, ib. §§ 5–7; willing to fight if they are supported by the state, ib. 13, § 9; equal to the rich in democracies, vi. 2, § 9; the surplus revenue distributed among them in the extreme democracy, ib. 5, § 7; may cause a revolution if their numbers increase, v. 3, §§ 6–8; begrudge the extravagance of courts, ib. 11, § 19; should be humanely treated, ii. 7, § 20; iv. 13, § 8; should be helped by the rich, vi. 5, §§ 5–11.
Population, decline of, at Sparta, ii. 9, § 16; importance of regulating, ib. 6, §§ 10–14; 7, §§ 4–6; 9, §§ 14–19; vii. 5, § 1; 16, § 15; changes of government brought about by the natural increase of population in Hellas, iii. 15, § 13; iv. 6, § 5; 13, § 10; vi. 5, § 5; a limit of population necessary to good government, ii. 6, §§ 6, 10; 7, § 5; 9, § 19; vii. 4, §§ 4–11; 5, § 1; 16, § 15.
Possession, a, may be called an instrument for maintaining life, i. 4, § 2; is an instrument of action, ib. § 4.
Poverty, not the cause of the worst crimes, ii. 7, § 10; always antagonistic to riches, iv. 4, § 19; the parent of revolution and crime, ii. 6, § 13 (*but* cp. v. 12, § 17); one of the essential characteristics of democracy, vi. 2, § 7.
Preeminency in virtue; the preeminently good man or family should be supreme, iii. 13, §§ 8, 13–25; 17, §§ 5–8; v. 1, § 6; vii. 3, § 6; 14, § 6.
Preservation, the general causes of, in states, v. 8; 9; the causes which affect monarchies, ib. 11, §§ 1–3; tyrannies, ib. §§ 4–34; democracies, vi. 5; 6, § 5; oligarchies, ib. 6, § 5; 7.
Presidents; name given to certain magistrates, vi. 8, § 7; vii. 12, § 7.
Priests, are not political officers, iv. 15, § 2; necessary to the state, vii. 8, §§ 7, 9; should be taken from the aged citizens who are past state service, ib. 9, § 9; their duties, vi. 8, §§ 18–20; required to take their meals at common tables, vii. 12, § 6.
Prior and posterior; the state prior to the family or the individual, i. 2, § 12; 13, § 5; the whole prior to the part, ib. 2, § 12; true forms of government prior to perversions, iii. 1, § 9; the body prior in order of generation to the soul, vii. 15, § 9; viii. 3, § 13; the irrational element prior to the rational, vii. 15, § 9.
Prisoners of war, usually made slaves, i. 6, §§ 1, 5.
Probuli, or senators, the head of the state in oligarchies, iv. 15, § 11; vi. 8, §§ 17, 24.
Production, instruments of, i. 4, §§ 4–6.
Property, a part of the household, i. 4, § 1; 8, § 1; a condition but not a part of the state, vii. 8, § 4; in the sense of food, provided by nature for all, i. 8, § 9, 10, § 3;—the pleasure of property, ii. 5, § 8;—Plato's limit of property unsatisfactory, ib. 6, § 9; the limit should be such as to enable a man to live both temperately and liberally,

ib.; vii. 5, § 1;—inequality of property at Sparta, ii. 9, §§ 14–19; v. 7, § 3, 10; 12, § 15;—a great cause of revolutions, ii. 7, §§ 2–6.
Property, community of; criticism of Plato's scheme, ii. 5 (*see* Plato); common property opposed to human nature, ib. §§ 4, 16; exists in a modified degree among friends, ib. §§ 6, 7; vii. 10, § 9; found to some extent at Sparta and Tarentum, ii. 5, § 7; vi. 5, § 16; would destroy the virtues of temperance and liberality, ii. 5, §§ 8–10; would not produce the marvellous results which Plato expects, ib. § 11;—equalisation of, proposed by Phaleas, ib. 7; 12, § 12; would not remedy the deeper evils of human nature, ib. 7, §§ 8–13, 18.
Property qualification, required in the holders of various offices, iii. 11, § 16; iv. 4, § 24; 5, § 1; 6, §§ 3, 7; vi. 4, § 5; ought not to be excessive, iv. 13, § 7; in oligarchies should be fixed according to two standards, vi. 6, § 2; changes in, a cause of revolutions, v. 3, §§ 8, 10; 6, §§ 16–18; 7, § 9; the evil may be remedied by periodical revisions of the census, ib. 8, §§ 10, 11.
Property taxes, in democracies, vi. 5, § 5.
Proportion, importance of, iii. 13, § 21; iv. 12; v. 1, §§ 12–15; 3, § 6; 7, § 8; 8, § 12; 9, § 7; vii. 4, § 10.
Prosperity often dangerous to men, v. 8, § 12; 10, § 33; vii. 15, § 4.
Proverbs; 'Slave before slave, master before master,' i. 7, § 3; 'Friends have all in common,' ii. 5, § 6; 'Well begun, half done,' v. 4, § 3; 'Nail knocks out nail,' ib. 11, § 13; 'No leisure for slaves,' vii. 15, § 2.
Proxenus; Doxander proxenus of Athens at Mitylene, v. 4, § 6.
Prytanis, the chief magistrate at Miletus in ancient times, v. 5, § 8;—Prytanes, officers appointed for the performance of the public sacrifices, vi. 8, § 20.
Psammetichus, son of Gordius, tyrant at Corinth, v. 12, § 3.
Public Services [λειτουργίαι], the rich should be excused from, v. 8, § 20; vi. 5, § 9.
Public works, erection of, a part of tyrannical policy, v. 11, § 9; should be undertaken by the notables in oligarchies, vi. 7, § 5; the labourers upon, sometimes public slaves, ii. 7, § 23.
Punishments, judicial, necessity of, vi. 8, § 9; vii. 13, § 6.
Purification, produced by music, viii. 7, §§ 3–5.
Pyramids, the, of Egypt, v. 11, § 9.

Q.

Quality and quantity in the state, iii. 8; iv. 12, §§ 1–4; v. 1, §§ 12–15.
Quarrels, often happen among fellow-travellers, ii. 5, § 4; would be less frequent, if property were equalized, ib. 7, § 18; when they occur among the nobles, a cause of revolution, v. 4, §§ 1–4; 8, § 9; quarrels about marriages another cause, ib. 4, §§ 5–8; the constant quarrels between the demagogues and the rich, a great injury to the state, ib. 9, § 10; quarrels between the kings of Sparta encouraged by state policy, ii. 9, § 30.

R.

Rattle, the, of Archytas, viii. 6, § 2.
Reading, one of the customary branches of education, viii. 3, §§ 1, 12.
Reason, an element of virtue, vii. 13, §§ 10–13; 15, § 7; is the master artificer, i. 13, § 8; divided into two parts, the speculative and the practical, vii. 14, § 10; is the end towards which nature strives, ib. 15, § 8; intended by nature to control the passionate or irrational element in the soul, i. 5, § 6; 13, § 6; vii. 14, § 9; 15, § 8; is not found in the animals, i. 2, § 11; vii. 13, § 12; exists in slaves to a limited extent, i. 5, § 9; 13, § 3; is not readily obeyed by those who have great advantages over others, iv. 11, § 5; may be

overcome by passion, v. 10, § 33; 11, § 31; may make mistakes, vii. 15, § 7.
Receivers, name given to certain revenue officers, vi. 8, § 6.
Recorders, vi. 8, § 7.
Reformation, the, of an old constitution, as difficult as the creation of a new one, iv. 1, § 7.
Registrars, vi. 8, § 7.
Registration of citizens, a preliminary to sitting in the assembly or the law-courts, iv. 13, § 3.
Relations, the, of male and female, master and slave, parent and child, which compose the family and the state, i. 2, §§ 1–5; 3, §§ 1–3; 12; 13, § 15.
Relaxation, necessity of, viii. 3, § 4; 5, §§ 2, 10; music a relaxation worthy of freemen, ib. 3, §§ 7–11.
Religion, matters of, used to be entrusted to the kings, iii. 14, §§ 3, 14 (cp. vi. 8, § 20); the tyrant should have a care of religion, v. 11, § 25; the expense of public worship should be borne by the state, vii. 10, § 10:—the officers of religion, vi. 8, §§ 18–21; vii. 8, § 9; 9, § 9.
Religious worship, one of the conditions of the state, vii. 8, § 8.
Representation, principle of, once existed in the government of Mantinea, vi. 4, § 4.
Republic, the, of Plato: *see* Plato.
Residence in one spot does not make a citizen, iii. 1, § 3;—or constitute a city, ib. 3, § 3; 9, §§ 9–12 (*but* cp. ii. 1 § 2).
Rest: *see* Leisure.
Retail trade, not a natural mode of money-making, i. 9, §§ 4, 12; arises out of the barter of necessary articles, ib. §§ 9–12.
Revenue, officers of, vi. 8, §§ 6, 16.
Revenue, a certain amount of, one of the conditions of the state, vii. 8, § 7:—Revenues, the, of the state should be publicly announced, v. 8, § 19; at Sparta, badly administered, ii. 9, § 36.
Revolutions, their objects, v. 1; their causes, ii. 7, §§ 2, 5, 10; v. 3; 4; 10, § 13; 12, §§ 14–18; their occasions, v. 4; 7, § 11; the preventives of them, ii. 11, § 15; v. 7, § 6; 8; 9; 11; vi. 4, §§ 16–20; 5; 6; revolutions in democracies, v. 5; — in oligarchies, ib. 6; — in constitutional governments, ib. § 17; 7, § 5; — in aristocracies, ib. 7; — in monarchies, ib. 10; — in tyrannies, ib.; 11; Plato's theory of revolutions, criticized, ib. 12, §§ 7–18; — questions raised after revolutions: citizens *de jure* and *de facto*, iii. 2, §§ 3–5; should old debts be paid? ib. 3, § 1; —democratic measures taken by Cleisthenes and others after a revolution, ib. 2, §§ 3–5; vi. 4, § 18; revolutions may happen without an immediate change in the constitution, iv. 5, § 3; v. 1, § 8.
Revolutions at Abydos, v. 6, §§ 6, 13; Aegina, ib. § 9; Ambracia, ib. 3, § 10; 4, § 10; 10, § 16; Amphipolis, ib. 3, § 13; 6, § 8; Antissa, ib. 3, § 12; Apollonia, ib. § 13; 6, § 9; Argos, ib. 3, § 7; Athens, ib. 4, § 13; 5, § 9; 6, § 6; Byzantium, ib. 3, § 12; Carthage, ib. 7, § 4; 12, § 12; Chalcis, ib. 4, § 9; 12, § 12; Chios, ib. 6, § 16; Clazomenae, ib. 3, § 15; Cnidus, ib. 6, §§ 4, 16; Colophon, ib. 3, § 15; Corinth, ib. 6, § 12; Cos, ib. 5, § 2; Cyme, ib. § 4; Cyrene, vi. 4, § 18; Delphi, v. 4, § 5; Elis, ib. 6, § 11; Epidamnus, ib. 1, § 10; 4, § 7; Eretria, ib. 6, § 14; Erythrae, ib. § 5; Heraea, ib. 3, § 9; Heraclea, ib. 5, § 3; 6, §§ 2, 7, 15; Hestiaea, ib. 4, § 4; Istros, ib. 6, § 2; Lacedaemon (*see* Lacedaemon); Larissa, v. 6, §§ 6, 13; Leontini, ib. 12, § 13; Locri, ib. 7, § 10; Massalia, ib. 6, § 2; Megara, iv. 15, § 15; v. 3, § 5; 5, §§ 4, 9; Miletus, v. 5, § 8; Naxos, ib. 6, § 1; Oreus, ib. 3, § 9; Rhegium, ib. 12, § 13; Rhodes, ib. 3, §§ 4, 5; 5, § 2; Sicyon, ib. 12, § 12; Sybaris, ib. 3, § 11; Syracuse, ib. §§ 5, 13; 4, § 1; 5, § 10; 6, § 8; 12, § 12; Tarentum, ib. 3, § 7; Thebes, ib. § 5; 6,

§ 15; Thurii, ib. 3, § 12; 7, §§ 9, 12.
Rhegium, tyranny of Anaxilaus at, v. 12, § 13; Androdamas of, ii. 12, § 14.
Rhodes, ii. 10, § 3; oligarchical revolution at, v. 3, §§ 4, 5; 5, § 2.
Rhythm, supplies imitations of the virtues and vices, viii. 5, § 18; one of the elements of music, ib.; 6, § 5; 7, § 1.
Rich, the, one of the elements of the state, iv. 4, § 15; everywhere few compared to the poor, iii. 8, § 6; v. 1, § 14; often hindered by the cares of property from attending to public business, iv. 6, § 6 (*but* cp. i. 7, § 5); possess the external advantages of which the want occasions crime, iv. 8, § 4 (cp. ii. 7, § 10); have too much power in so-called aristocratical governments, iv. 12, § 6; v. 7, § 7; their encroachments more dangerous to the state than those of the poor, iv. 12, § 6; constantly in antagonism to the poor, ib. 11, § 7; v. 9, § 10; should be protected against the demagogues, v. 8, § 20; vi. 5, § 3; should be relieved from useless state expenses, v. 8, § 20; vi. 5, § 9; should be generous to the poor, iv. 13, § 8; vi. 5, § 10; should be public-spirited and munificent, vi. 7, § 6; are often spoilt by indulgence in childhood, iv. 11, § 6; v. 9, § 13; can alone afford the expense of keeping horses, iv. 3, § 2.
Riches and poverty, the opposing elements of the state, v. 1, § 14; 8, § 14; riches more desired by men than honour, iv. 13, § 8; v. 8, § 16; vi. 4, § 2; Solon wrong in thinking that 'no bound has been fixed to riches,' i. 8, § 14. *See* Wealth.
Riding, taught to the children of kings, iii. 4, § 8.
Roll of citizens, the, at Athens, v. 3, § 7.
Royalty, the form of government in which one rules for the best, iii. 7, § 3; v. 10, § 3; analogous to aristocracy, v. 10, §§ 2, 7; opposed to tyranny, iii. 7, § 5; iv. 2, § 2; v. 10, § 2; is it better than the rule of the law? iii. 15; 16; arose (1) from the government of families by the eldest, i. 2, § 6; 7, § 1; 12, § 3; (2) from services rendered by the first chiefs, iii. 14, § 12; 15, § 11; v. 10, §§ 3, 8; (3) from the weakness of the middle and lower classes, iv. 13, § 11; once existed in Crete, ii. 10, § 6; has various forms: (1) the Lacedaemonian (which is only a generalship for life), ii. 9, § 33; iii. 14, §§ 3, 14; 15, §§ 1, 2; 16, § 1; (2) the despotic (among Barbarians), iii. 14, §§ 6, 14; iv. 10, § 2; (3) the ancient Dictatorships, iii. 14, §§ 8, 14; iv. 10, § 2; (4) the monarchies of the heroic age, iii. 14, §§ 11–14; (5) the absolute monarchy, ib. § 15;—the people to whom royalty is suited, ib. c. 17; —causes of revolutions in monarchies, v. 10; means of their preservation, ib. 11, §§ 1–3; royalty more often destroyed from within than from without, ib. 10, § 36; true royalty unknown in later Hellas, ib. § 37; vii. 14, § 3. *See* King.
Rule; the various kinds of rule essentially different from each other, i. 1, § 2; 3, § 4; 5, § 6; 7, § 1; 12; 13, §§ 4–8; iii. 6, §§ 5–7; vii. 3, § 2; 14, § 6; the distinction between the ruler and the ruled found throughout nature, i. 2, § 2; 5, §§ 2–7; the better the ruled, the better the rule, ib. 5, §§ 2, 7; v. 11, § 34; the rule of freemen better than despotic authority, vii. 14, § 19; rule over others, not the highest object of the legislator, ib. 14, §§ 14–22; rule must be learnt by obedience, iii. 4, §§ 10, 14; vii. 9, § 6; 14, § 6.
Ruler, the, ought to have moral virtue in perfection, i. 13, § 8; the virtue peculiar to him, iii. 4, § 17; must learn to govern by obedience, ii. 11, § 14; iii. 4, § 14; vii. 9, § 6; 14, § 6; the rulers ought to remain the same, ii. 2,

§§ 4–8; vii. 14, § 2; dangers arising from this arrangement, ii. 5, §§ 24–27; vii. 14, § 3; the difficulty solved, if the elder rule, and the younger obey, vii. 9, § 5; 14, § 5.
Ruling class, a, not always humane, iv. 13, § 8.

S.

Sacred recorders, vi. 8, § 7.
Sailor, analogy of the, and the citizen, iii. 4, §§ 1–4; number of sailors at Ægina, Athens, and Chios, iv. 4, § 21; — at Heraclea, vii. 6, § 8.
Salamis, victory of, v. 4, § 8.
Sambuca, the, an ancient musical instrument, viii. 6, § 13.
Samos, subjection of, by the Athenians, iii. 13, § 19; buildings of Polycrates at, v. 11, § 9:—Samian colonists at Zancle, ib. 3, § 12.
Sardanapalus, death of, v. 10, § 22.
Science, the, of the statesman, i. 1, § 2; 10, § 1; iii. 12, § 1; iv. 1, § 3; — of the master, i. 3, § 4; 7, §§ 2, 4; — of the slave, ib. 7, §§ 2, 3; in all sciences the whole must be resolved into the parts, ib. 1, § 3; every science capable of improvement, ii. 8, § 18; the philosophical student of science must not neglect any detail, iii. 8, § 1; all sciences aim at some good, ib. 12, § 1;—the political science the highest of all sciences, iii. 12, § 1; aims at the good of the state, vii. 2, § 4; the subjects which it includes, iv. 1, §§ 3–11.
Scrutineers, vi. 8, §§ 17, 21.
Scylax, quoted about the kings of India, vii. 14, § 3.
Scylletic Gulf, the, vii. 10, § 3.
Scythians, the, vii. 2, §§ 10, 11.
Sea, the, proximity of, good or evil? vii. 6.
Sedition, *see* Revolution.
Self-sufficiency, the, of the state, the end and the best, i. 2, § 8; vii. 5, § 1; 8, § 8; would not be promoted by extreme unification, ii. 2, § 8.
Selfishness, natural and unnatural, ii. 5, § 8.
Senate, *see* Council of Elders.
Senators, *see* Councillors.
Senses, the, have not much resemblance to moral qualities, viii. 5, §§ 19–21.
Servant, the, a kind of instrument in the arts, i. 4, § 2; many servants often less efficient than a few, ii. 3, § 4; the servants who are employed in daily life, those with whom we most often disagree, ib. 5, § 4; children not to be left too much to servants, vii. 17, § 7. *See* Slave.
Sesostris, king of Egypt, first separated the people into castes, vii. 10, §§ 1, 6.
Seuthes, a Thracian, conspiracy of, against Amadocus, v. 10, § 24.
Shepherds, lead the laziest life among men, i. 8, § 6; sometimes combine brigandage with their other occupations, ib. § 8; form the second best material of a democracy, vi. 4, §§ 1, 11; make excellent soldiers, ib. § 11.
Sicily, invaded by Minos, ii. 10, § 4; the tyrannies in, mostly arose out of oligarchies, v. 12, § 13.
Sicily, story of the man of, who bought up all the iron, i. 11, § 11.
Sicyon, tyranny of Orthagoras and his descendants, v. 12, § 1.
Siege machines, invention of, vii. 11, § 9.
Sight, has a slight relation to moral qualities, viii. 5, § 20.
Simos (?), a party leader at Larissa, v. 6, § 13.
Simplicity of life at Sparta, ii. 6, § 17; iv. 9, §§ 6–10.
Sirrhas, war of, against Archelaus, v. 10, § 17.
Situation, the, suitable for the state, vii. 5; 11, §§ 1–5.
Slavery, is it according to nature? i. 5; 6.
Slavery;—men should not think it slavery to live according to the constitution, v. 9, § 15.
Slave, the, does he exist by nature? i. 4, § 6–c. 6; different from the female (except among Barbarians), ib. 2, §§ 2–4; how related to his master, ib. §§ 2–5; 3, §§ 1–

3; 4, § 5; vii. 3, § 5; not always distinguished by nature from the freeman, i. 5, § 10; 6, § 8; the relation between slave and master, when natural, does not exclude kindness, ib. 6, § 9; slave and master have a common interest, ib. 2, § 3; iii. 6, § 6; the slave must not be addressed in the language of command only [against Plato, Laws, vi. 777], i. 13, § 14; place of the slave in the management of the family, ib. 4; 5, § 9; 8, § 1; the slave an instrument taking precedence of other instruments, ib. 4, § 2; like the animals, ministers to the needs of life, ib. 5, § 9; the science proper to him, i. 7, §§ 2, 3; his share in virtue, ib. 13, §§ 2–14; — in reason, ib. 5, §§ 8, 9; 13, § 3; has not the deliberative faculty, ib. 13, § 7; is nearer to his master than the mechanic, ib. § 13; ought to be trained in virtue by him, ib. § 14: —Slaves, how related to artisans, i. 13, § 13; ii. 7, § 22; iii. 4, § 12; 5, § 3; forbidden gymnastic exercises in Crete, ii. 5, § 19; difficulty in managing them, ib. § 22; 9, §§ 2–4; vii. 10, § 13; the different classes of slaves, iii. 4, § 12; children of slaves only admitted to citizenship in extreme democracies, ib. 5, § 7; vi. 4, § 16; slaves cannot form a state, iii. 9, § 6; cannot be self-sufficient, iv. 4, § 11; licence allowed to them in democracies and tyrannies, v. 11, § 11; vi. 4, § 20; sometimes emancipated by tyrants to serve as a guard, v. 11, § 32; should be encouraged by the hope of freedom, vii. 10, §14; their company dangerous for children, ib. 17, § 7.

Slaves, the art of acquiring, a species of hunting or war, i. 7, § 5; vii. 14, § 21.

Slaves, a school for, once existed at Syracuse, i. 7, § 2.

Small matters, must not be neglected by the statesman, v. 3, § 10; 4, § 1; 7, § 11; 8, §§ 2, 3.

Smerdis, the murderer of Penthilus at Mitylene, v. 10, § 19.

Society, political, the highest of all communities, i. 1, § 1; exists, not for the sake of mere companionship, but for the sake of noble actions, iii. 9, §§ 12–14; man designed by nature to take part in society, i. 2, §§ 8–16; iii. 6, § 3; benefit conferred on mankind by the establishment of society, i. 2, § 15; society cannot exist without judicial decisions and punishments, vi. 8, § 9; vii. 13, § 6.

Socrates: *see* Plato.

Soldiers, according to Plato, should be taught to use both hands alike, ii. 12, § 12; shepherds make excellent soldiers, vi. 4, § 11; relation of the different kinds of soldiers to the different constitutions, ib. 7, §§ 1–3; the soldier must have a good knowledge of the military art, vii. 11, § 12; soldiers as necessary to the state as artisans or husbandmen [against Plato, Rep. ii. 369], iv. 4, §§ 10–17; vii. 4, §§ 4–7; 8, § 7; 9, § 10; the soldiers should be taken from the youth, the councillors from the old, vii. 9, §§ 3–10; 14, § 5; should form a separate caste, as in Egypt, ib. 9, § 10; 10, § 1; position of the soldiers in the constitution of Hippodamus, ii. 8, §§ 2, 8–12.

Soldiers, heavy-armed, citizenship in constitutional governments confined to the, ii. 6, § 16; iii. 7, § 4; 17, § 4; iv. 13, § 10; growth of their importance in Hellenic states, iv. 13, §§ 9–12; taken from the roll of citizens at Athens, v. 3, § 7; form (with cavalry) the natural military force of an oligarchy, vi. 7, §§ 1, 2; generally worsted by the light-armed in popular insurrections, ib. § 3; — the principal magistrates elected from those who are serving, or who have served, ii. 8, § 9; iv. 13, § 9.

Soldiers, light-armed, always attached to democracy, vi. 7, § 2; generally master the heavy-armed

in popular insurrections, ib. § 3; the younger citizens in oligarchies should be trained in the exercises of light infantry, ib.
Solon, quoted, i. 8, § 14; like most legislators, a citizen of the middle classes, iv. 11, § 15; had a law to prohibit unlimited acquisition of property, ii. 7, § 6; opposite opinions about his constitution, ib. 12, §§ 2–6 (cp. iii. 11, § 8).
Sophism, the, upon the twofold meaning of the word 'all,' ii. 3, § 3;—that 'if the parts are little the whole is little,' v. 8, § 3.
Sophocles, quoted (Ajax, 293), i. 13, § 11.
Soul, the, rules by nature over the body, i. 5, §§ 4–6; posterior to the body in order of generation, vii. 15, § 9; more truly a part of an animal than the body, iv. 4, § 14; the beauty of the soul less easily seen than that of the body, i. 5, § 11; the interests of soul and body the same, ib. 6, § 10; the irrational element in the soul subject to the rational, ib. 5, § 6; 13, § 6; vii. 14, § 9; 15, § 8; the divisions of the soul, i. 5, §§ 5–7; 13, § 6; iii. 4, § 6; vii. 14, § 9; 15, § 9; the soul never wholly free from passion, iii. 15, § 5; said to be or to possess harmony, viii. 5, § 25.
Sparta: *see* Lacedaemon.
Spectators, are of two kinds, viii. 7, § 6; the vulgar sort deteriorate the character of the performers, ib. 6, § 16; 7, § 7.
Speculation, life of, opposed to that of contemplation, vii. 2; 3; 14, §§ 9–22.
Speech, why given to man, i. 2, §§ 10–12.
Spies, employment of, by the tyrant, v. 11, § 7.
Spits, made to hold a lamp, iv. 15, § 8.
State, the, is the highest of communities, i. 1, § 1; is based upon the relations of husband and wife, father and child, master and slave, ruler and subject, ib. 2; 13, § 15; formed of a union of villages, ib. 2, § 8; exists for the sake of a good life, ib.; iii. 9, §§ 6–14; iv. 4, § 11; vii. 1, § 1; 8, §§ 4, 8;—not for the sake of alliance and security, iii. 9, §§ 6–14; is distinguished from an alliance because it has an ethical aim, ii. 2, § 3; iii. 9, § 8;—from a nation, because it is made up of different elements, ii. 2, § 3; is not necessarily formed by a number of persons residing together, iii. 3, § 3; 9, §§ 9–12; (*but* cp. ii. 1, § 2); is a work of nature, i. 2, §§ 8, 9; prior to the family or the individual, ib. § 12; 13, § 15:—composed of dissimilar parts or elements, ii. 2, § 3; iii. 1, § 2; 4, §§ 6–8; iv. 3, § 1; 4, § 7; 12, §§ 1–4; v. 1, §§ 12–15; 3, § 6; vii. 8; the parts not to be identified with the conditions of the state, vii. 8, § 1; the parts and conditions enumerated, iv. 3, §§ 1–6; 4, §§ 7–20; vii. 8, § 7;—compared to the parts of animals, iv. 4, §§ 7–9:—the state depends for its identity mainly on the sameness of the constitution, iii. 3; must be able to defend itself, ii. 6, § 7; 7, §§ 14–17; 10, § 15; iii. 12, § 9; iv. 4, § 10; vii. 4. § 6; 15, § 2; should be self-sufficing, i. 2, § 8; ii. 2, § 8; vii. 4, § 11; 5, § 1; 8, § 8; should not exceed a certain size, ii. 6, § 6; iii. 3, §§ 4–7; vii. 4; 5, § 1;—has the same virtue, and therefore the same life and end, as the individual, vii. 1–3; 13–15; may, like an individual, be wanting in self-discipline, v. 9, § 12; must have the virtues of leisure, vii. 15, § 1; can lead a life of virtuous activity isolated from others, ib. 2, § 16; 3, §§ 8–10; is not made happier by conquest, ib. 2; 3; 14, §§ 14–22; rests upon justice, i. 2, § 16; vii. 14, § 3; must have a care of virtue, iii. 9, § 8; vii. 13, § 9 (cp. iv. 7, § 4); must be happy, not in regard to a portion of the citizens, but to them all, ii. 5, § 27; vii. 9, § 7; is united by friendship among the citizens,

ii. 5, § 6; iii. 9, § 13; iv. 11, § 7; v. 11, § 5; (cp. vi. 5, § 7;) must pay great regard to education, i. 13, § 15; ii. 7, § 8; v. 9, § 11; viii. 1: — must not be left to fortune, ii. 11, §§ 15, 16; vii. 13, § 9; is not the growth of a day, v. 3, § 11; is preserved by the principle of compensation, ii. 2, §§ 4–7; is sometimes left at the mercy of the army by the violence of faction, v. 6, § 13; its permanence can only be secured by the toleration of all elements, ii. 9, § 22; iv. 9, § 10; 12, § 1; v. 8, § 5; 9, § 5; vi. 6, § 2; any state, however ill constituted, may last a few days, vi. 5, § 1: — the various claims to authority in the state, iii. 9, §§ 1–5, 14; 10; 12; 13; iv. 8, § 9; vi. 3, §§ 1–4; what share in the state may be allowed to the ordinary citizen? iii. 11, §§ 6–8; iv. 13, §§ 5–8; vi. 4, § 5; 7, § 5 (cp. ii. 12, § 5).

State, the ideal, of Aristotle, would require (1) a defensible position, vii. 5, § 3; (2) a moderate naval force, ib. §§ 6–9; (3) courageous and intelligent citizens, ib. 7; (4) the exclusion of mechanics and tradesmen from citizenship, ib. 9, §§ 1–8; (5) slaves and Perioeci to till the soil, ib. § 8; 10, §§ 9, 13, 14; (6) common meals, ib. 10, §§ 1–8, 10; (7) subdivision of the land into two parts, public and private, ib. § 11; (8) [*for the city*] a central situation, ib. 5, § 3; 11, § 2; — near, but not upon, the sea, ib. 6, §§ 1–6; a healthy site, ib. 11, § 1; a good water supply, ib. § 3; proper fortifications and walls, ib. §§ 5, 8–12; an arrangement of houses and streets which will combine the advantages of beauty and security, ib. § 6; an acropolis, for the temples, and a 'freemen's agora,' ib. 12, §§ 1–6; government buildings and a trader's agora, ib. 7.

State, the best [absolutely], the enquirer into, must examine the best ideal and actual forms of government, ii. i. § 1; differs from the so-called aristocracies because the citizens are absolutely good, iii. 13, § 12; iv. 7, § 2; (*but* cp. iii. 4, § 5); presupposes the best life, vii. 1; in comparison with it, all existing governments may be called perversions, iv. 8, § 1.

State, the best [under ordinary circumstances], iv. 1, § 3; 11, § 21 (cp. ii. 6, § 16).

State, the best [for mankind in general], iv. 1, § 3; 11, § 1.

Statesman, the, is properly concerned with the natural art of acquisition only, i. 8, § 15; 10, § 1; ought also to be acquainted with the art of moneymaking, ib. 11, § 13; must be able to recognise evils at their commencement, v. 4, § 3; 8, § 9; must not despise small things, ib. 3, § 10; 4, § 1; 7, § 11; 8, § 2; must he have virtue, or is skill alone sufficient? ib. 9, §§ 1–4; must know the real effect of political measures, ib. § 9; will use fear as a means to bind the state together, ib. 8, § 8; will not suppose that the greatness of the state depends merely on size, vii. 4, § 4; the life of the statesman contrasted with the life of the philosopher, ib. 2, § 6.

Statesman, the, the rule of, different from other kinds of rule, i. 1, § 2; 3, § 4; 7, § 1.

Stentor (proverbial use of the name), vii. 4, § 11.

Strangers, prohibition of, at Lacedaemon, ii. 10, § 15.

Subject, the, distinguished by nature from the ruler, i. 5, § 2.

Suits at law, distributed among different magistrates, or tried by all, accordingly as the government is aristocracy or oligarchy, ii. 11, § 8; iii. 1, §§ 10–12; divided by Hippodamus into three classes, ii. 8, § 4.

Superintendents of Gymnastic and Dionysiac contests, vi. 8, § 22.

Sybaris, foundation of, v. 3, § 11: —expulsion of the Sybarite colonists from Thurii, ib. § 12.

Symposium, the, of Plato. *See* Plato.
Syracuse, the man of, who taught household duties, i. 7, § 2; — advice given to the Syracusans when Dionysius requested a guard, iii. 15, § 16; — revolution in ancient times at Syracuse arising out of a love-quarrel, v. 4, §§ 1–4; anarchy of the state before the tyranny of Gelo, ib. 3, § 5; duration of the tyranny of Hiero and Gelo, ib. 12, § 6; employment of spies by Hiero, ib. 11, § 7; expulsion of the family of Gelo and consequent democratical revolution, ib. 3, § 13; 10, § 31; 12, §§ 6, 12; disturbances arising from the admission of mercenaries to citizenship, ib. 3, § 13; tyrants put down in many Sicilian cities by the Syracusans, ib. 10, § 30; increased strength of the democracy at Syracuse after the victory over the Athenians, ib. 4, § 9; rise of Dionysius to the tyranny, ib. 5, § 10; 6, § 8; 10, § 6; his excessive taxation, ib. 11, § 10; attack of Dion on Dionysius the Younger, ib. 10, §§ 23, 28, 31, 32.
Syrtis (?), a district of Southern Italy, vii. 10, § 5.

T.

Tactics, unknown in ancient times, iv. 13, § 10.
Tarentum, colonized from Lacedaemon, v. 7, § 2; numbers of fishermen there, iv. 4, § 21; defeat of the Tarentines by the Iapygians and consequent democratical revolution, v. 3, § 7; kindly spirit shown by the government, vi. 5, § 10.
Taxation, oppressive, a part of tyrannical policy, v. 11, § 10; levied by the demagogues, in order to ruin the rich, vi. 5, § 5.
Telecles, of Miletus, constitution proposed by, iv. 14, § 4.
Temperance, different in men and women, i. 13, §§ 9–12; iii. 4, § 16; would be destroyed by communism, ii. 5, § 10; must be united with liberality, ib. 6, § 9; vii. 5, § 1; as necessary for the state as the individual, vii. 15, § 2.
Temple officers, vi. 8, § 18.
Temples, the (of the city), should be built upon the Acropolis, vii. 12, § 2; their arrangement in the country, ib. § 8.
Tenedos, number of ferrymen at, iv. 4, § 21.
Thales, of Miletus, story about the way in which he once made a fortune, i. 11, § 8: — [probably the Cretan poet] erroneously supposed to have been the companion of Onomacritus, ii. 12, § 7.
Theagenes, tyrant of Megara, v. 5, § 9.
Thebes; overthrow of the democracy after Oenophyta, v. 3, § 5; punishment of Archias and consequent revolution, ib. 6, § 15; the Theban invasion of Laconia, ii. 9, §§ 10, 16; — the legislation of Philolaus, ib. 12, § 10; law at Thebes excluding persons from the government who had not left business ten years, iii. 5, § 7; vi. 7, § 4.
Theodectes, quoted, i. 6, § 7.
Theodorus, the actor, saying attributed to, vii. 17, § 13.
Theopompus, king of Sparta, established the Ephoralty, v. 11, § 2.
Thera, one of the Sporades, ancient government of, iv. 4, § 5.
Thessaly; difficulties of the Thessalians with the Penestae, ii. 5, § 22; 9, § 2; ancient wars of the Thessalians with their neighbours, ib. 9, § 2; the 'Freemen's Agora' in Thessalian towns, vii. 12, § 3.
Thetes, the (in Solon's constitution), ii. 12, § 6.
Thibron, a panegyrist of the Lacedaemonian government, vii. 14, § 17.
Thirty, the, government of, at Athens, v. 6, § 6.
Thracians, the, a warlike nation, vii. 2, § 10.
Thrasybulus (brother of Hiero), tyrant of Syracuse for eleven months, v. 10, § 31; 12, § 6.
Thrasybulus, tyrant of Miletus,

Periander's advice to, iii. 13, § 16; v. 10, § 13.
Thrasyllus, tablet dedicated by him at Athens when Choragus to Ecphantides, viii. 6, § 12.
Thrasymachus, a revolutionary leader at Cyme, v. 5, § 4.
Thurii, story of the foundation of, v. 3, §§ 11, 12; democratical revolution at, ib. 7, § 9; subsequent (?) oligarchical revolution, ib. § 12.
Timophanes of Corinth, an instance of a general becoming a tyrant, v. 6, § 12.
Timophanes, of Mitylene, v. 4, § 6.
Trade, *see* Commerce.
Traders, the employments of, devoid of moral excellence, vi. 4, § 12; vii. 9, § 3; ought to be excluded from citizenship, vii. 9, § 3; admitted to office at Thebes after they had retired from business ten years, iii. 5, § 7; vi. 7, § 4.
Travellers, apt to quarrel about every trifle, ii. 5, § 4.
Treasurers, vi. 8, § 7;—of sacred revenues, ib. § 19.
Treaties, conferring citizenship, iii. 1, § 4; of commerce, ib. 9, § 6.
Tribes, new, formed, after a revolution, iii. 2, § 3; vi. 4, § 18.
Trierarchs, at Rhodes, v. 5, § 2.
Triopium, promontory near Cnidus, ii. 10, § 3.
Tripods, the, of Hephaestus, i. 4, § 3.
Troezen; the Troezenians joint-founders with the Achaeans of Sybaris, v. 3, § 11; ancient oracle once given to them, vii. 16, § 7.
Tyrannical arts, generally attributed to Periander or to the Persian kings, v. 11, §§ 4, 6.
Tyrannicide, esteemed honourable in Hellas, v. 10, § 26.
Tyrant, the, is the natural enemy of the freeman, iv. 10, § 4; v. 11, § 13; cuts off his rivals, iii. 13, §§ 16–19; v. 10, § 13; 11, § 5; rules over involuntary subjects as the king over voluntary, iii. 14, § 7; aims at pleasure, the king at honour, v. 10, § 10; is guarded by mercenaries, iii. 14, § 7; v. 10, § 10; sometimes obliged to emancipate the slaves, v. 11, § 32; is much under the influence of flatterers, iv. 4, § 28; v. 11, § 12; destroys the spirit and confidence of his subjects, v. 11, §§ 4, 13, 15; sends spies among them, ib. § 7; incites them to quarrel, ib. § 8; oppresses them by war and taxation, ib.; distrusts his friends, ib. § 10; gives licence to slaves and women, ib. § 11; vi. 4, § 20; loves the bad, v. 11, § 12; prefers foreigners to citizens, ib. § 14; is capable of any wickedness, ib.; is full of self-indulgence and sensuality, ib. § 23; may also preserve his tyranny by playing the 'father of his country,' ib. §§ 17–33; must be on his guard against assassins, especially against those who think that they have been insulted, ib. § 30; must conciliate the poor or the rich, whichever is the stronger, ib. § 32.
Tyrants, the, of Hellenic cities put down by the Lacedaemonians, iii. 2, § 3; v. 10, § 30; of Sicily, by the Syracusans, v. 10, § 30.
Tyrants, most of the ancient, originally demagogues, v. 5, § 6; 10, § 4; sometimes great magistrates, or kings, ib. 5, § 8; 10, § 5.
Tyranny, the government of the monarch who rules for his own interests, iii. 7, § 5; 8, § 2; iv. 10, § 3; v. 10, § 9; akin to democracy, iv. 4, § 27; v. 10, § 11, 30; 11, § 12; hardly to be called a constitution, iv. 8, § 1; 10, § 1; the perversion of royalty, iii. 7, § 5; 17, § 1; iv. 2, § 2; 4, § 27; 5, § 2; 10, § 3; does not rest upon natural justice or expediency, iii. 17, § 1; has all the vices both of democracy and oligarchy, v. 10, §§ 11, 30, 35; is unendurable to freemen, iv. 10, § 4; v. 11, § 13; may arise either from extreme oligarchy or democracy, iv. 11, § 11; v. 8, § 7; in Sicily often arose out of oligarchy, v. 12, § 13; was common in ancient times, owing to the great powers of the magistrates, ib. 5, § 8; 10, § 5; always a short-lived

government, ib. 12, § 1; rarely becomes hereditary, ib. 10, § 33; causes of revolution in tyrannies, ib. 10; means of their preservation, ib. 11; governments into which tyranny may change, ib. 12, § 11.
Tyrrhenians, the, treaties of, with the Carthagenians, iii. 9, § 6.
Tyrtaeus, the Eunomia of, cited, v. 7, § 4.

U.

Unity, how far desirable in the state, ii. 2; 5, §§ 13–17.
Useful, the, exists for the sake of the honourable, vii. 14, § 13.
User, the, often a better judge than the artist, iii. 11, § 14.
Usury, the most unnatural mode of moneymaking, i. 10, § 5; 11, § 3.
Utility, too much regarded by Hellenic legislators, vii. 14, § 15; is not the sole aim of education, viii. 2, § 3; 3, § 11; is not sought after by men of noble mind, ib. 3, § 12.

V.

Valour, necessity of, in the state, ii. 6, §§ 7–8; 7, § 14; iii. 12, § 9; vii. 15, § 2; (cp. iv. 4, §§ 12–16; vii. 4, § 6). *See* Courage.
Venality, at Sparta, ii. 9, §§ 20, 26; at Carthage, ib. 11, §§ 10–13; particularly dangerous in oligarchies, v. 8, § 15.
Vermiparous animals, the, i. 8, § 10.
Village, the, a colony of the family, i. 2, § 6; the state a union of villages, ib. § 8.
Violence, often associated with virtue, i. 6, § 3.
Virtue, the especial characteristic of aristocratical governments, ii. 11, §§ 5–10; iv. 7; v. 7, §§ 5–7; often allied to force, i. 6, § 3; more a concern of household management than wealth, ib. 13, § 1; depends upon the supremacy of the rational principle in the soul, ib. § 6; vii. 14, § 9; 15, § 9; cannot be included under a general definition, i. 13, § 10; must be taught to the slave by his master, ib. § 12; ought to be the aim and care of the state, iii. 9, §§ 6–8; vii. 13, § 9 (cp. iv. 7, § 4); gives a claim to superiority in the state, iii. 9, §§ 14, 15; 13, § 1; has many kinds, ib. 7, § 4; cannot ruin those who possess her, ib. 10, § 2; is a mean, iv. 11, § 3; how far required in the great officers of state, v. 9, §§ 1–4; must be at least pretended by the tyrant, ib. 11, §§ 25, 34; is regarded as a secondary object by mankind, vii. 1, § 5: — cannot be separated from happiness, vii. 1, § 3; 2, § 2; 3, § 1; 8, § 5; 9, § 3; 13, § 5; results from nature, habit, and reason, ib. 13, §§ 10–13; 15, §§ 7–10; is not a matter of chance, ib. 13, § 9; how far consistent with the political life, ib. 2; 3; should it be made the aim of education? viii. 2; consists in hating and loving and rejoicing aright, ib. 5, § 17: —should not (as is done by the Lacedaemonians) be supposed inferior to external goods, ii. 9, § 35; (cp. vii. 1, § 5;) nor be practised with a view to the single object of success in war, ii. 9, § 34; vii. 2, § 9; 14, § 16; 15, § 6: —the virtue proper to the slave, the woman, the child, i. 13, §§ 1–3; of the ruler and the subject different, ib. §§ 4–6; iii. 4, §§ 7–18; of the ruler, practical wisdom, of the subject, true opinion, iii. 4, § 18; of men and women not the same, i. 13, §§ 3, 9–11; iii. 4, § 16; less required in the artisan than the slave, i. 13, § 12; (cp. vii. 9, § 7;) of the citizen relative to the constitution, iii. 4, §§ 1–7; iv. 7, § 3; v. 9, § 1; of the good man absolute, iii. 4, §§ 1–7; vii. 13, § 7; of the good citizen: — is it identical with that of the good man? iii. 4; 5, § 10; 18; vii. 14, § 8; of the citizen in the perfect state, iii. 4, § 5; 13, § 12; iv. 7, § 2.
Virtue, military, is found in the masses, iii. 7, § 4; the social, is justice, i. 2, § 16; iii. 13, § 3.
Virtues, the, of women and children

important to the state, i. 13, § 15; ii. 9, § 5; of the state and the individual the same, vii. 1, § 12; of the military life, ii. 9, §§ 11, 34; vii. 15, § 3; of leisure, vii. 15, § 1.
Viviparous animals, the, i. 8, § 10.
Vote, election by, modes in which it can be employed, ii. 6, § 19; iv. 15, §§ 14–22.

W.

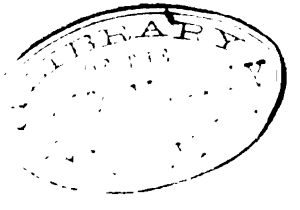
Walls, are not, as Plato supposes (Laws, vi. 778), unnecessary, vii. 11, § 8.
Walls, officers appointed to take charge of the, vi. 8, § 5.
War, a part of the art of acquisition when directed against wild beasts and against men who are intended by nature to be slaves, i. 7, § 5; 8, § 12; vii. 2, § 15; 14, § 21; exists for the sake of peace, vii. 14, §§ 13, 22; 15, § 1; a school of virtue, ii. 9, § 11; a remedy against the dangers of prosperity, vii. 15, § 3; constant war a part of tyrannical policy, v. 11, § 10; success in war the sole object of the Lacedaemonian and Cretan constitutions, ii. 9, §§ 34, 35; vii. 2, § 9; 14, § 16; 15, § 6; progress in war: — invention of tactics, iv. 13, § 10; — of siege machines, vii. 11, § 9; improvement of fortifications, ib. § 12.
War, captives taken in, ought they to be made slaves? i. 6, §§ 1–8.
War, the Peloponnesian; losses of the Athenian nobility, v. 3, § 7; battle of Oenophyta, ib. § 5; — capture of Mitylene, ib. 4, § 6; — battle of Mantinea, ib. § 9; — the Sicilian expedition, ib.; — the Four Hundred at Athens, ib. § 13; 6, § 6; — the Thirty, ib. 6, § 6.
War, the Persian, v. 3, § 7; 4, §§ 4, 8; 7, § 4; effect of, upon Athens, ii. 12, § 5; v. 4, § 8; viii. 6, § 11: — the Sacred, v. 4, § 7.
Wardens of the Agora, iv. 15, §§ 9, 22; vi. 8, §§ 10, 21; vii. 12, § 7; of the City, vi. 8, §§ 5, 10, 21; vii. 12, § 7; of the Country, vi. 8, §§ 6, 10, 21; vii. 12, § 9; of the Harbour, vi. 8, § 5.
Warriors and Councillors, the two highest classes in the state, iv. 4, §§ 10–17; vii. 4, §§ 4–7; 8, § 7; 9, §§ 4–10.
Water, good, as necessary as good air, vii. 11, §§ 3–5.
Weak, the, always go to the wall, vi. 3, § 6.
Wealth, the, of Midas, i. 9, § 11.
Wealth, always antagonistic to poverty, iv. 4, § 19; forms an element of the state, ii. 7, § 16; iv. 4, § 15; vii. 8, §§ 7, 9; includes many varieties, i. 8, § 3; iv. 3, § 2; [the true kind] has a limit, i. 8, § 14; 9, §§ 1, 12; popularly confused with coin, ib. 9, §§ 10, 14; not so much a concern of household management as virtue, ib. 13, § 1; must be used with both temperance and liberality, ii. 6, § 8; vii. 5, § 1.
Wealth, too highly valued at Sparta and Carthage, ii. 9, §§ 7, 13; 11, §§ 8–12; iv. 7, § 4; the chief characteristic of oligarchy, ii. 11, § 9; iii. 8, § 7; iv. 4, §§ 3, 19; v. 10, § 11; vi. 2, § 7; confers a claim to superiority in the state, iii. 9, §§ 4–6, 15; 12, §§ 8, 9; 13, §§ 1–5; popularly associated with good birth and education, iv. 8, §§ 4, 8; v. 7, § 1. *See* Riches.
Wealthy, the, have the external advantages of which the want tempts men to crime, ii. 7, § 10; iv. 8, § 3; are apt to be spoiled by the luxury in which they are reared, iv. 11, § 6; v. 9, § 13; form one of the classes necessary to the state, iv. 14, § 15; vii. 8, §§ 7, 9. *See* Rich.
Whole, the, must be resolved into its parts, i. 1, § 3; 8, § 1; prior and therefore superior to the parts, ib. 2, §§ 12–14; iii. 17, § 7; the part belongs entirely to the whole, i. 4, § 5; every whole has a ruling element, ib. 5, § 3; the whole and the part have the same interest, ib. 6, § 10; the virtue of the parts relative to the virtue of the whole, ib. 13, § 15;

the happiness of the whole dependent on the happiness of the parts, ii. 5, § 27; vii. 9, § 7; the sophism that 'if the parts are little the whole is little,' v. 8, § 3; the care of the part and the care of the whole inseparable, viii. 1, § 3.
Will, found even in very young children, vii. 15, § 10.
Will, the, of the ruler, an unsafe guide, ii. 9, § 23; 10, §§ 11, 13; iii. 15, § 5; 16, §§ 4–6.
Winds, the, sometimes said to be only two—north and south, iv. 3, § 6; the east wind the healthiest, vii. 11, § 2; the north wind better than the south for the procreation of children, ib. 16, § 11.
Wine, not to be given to young children, vii. 17, § 1; the age at which it may be drunk, ib. § 11.
Winter, the best season for marriage, vii. 16, § 10.
Wisdom, practical, the virtue of the ruler, iii. 4, § 18.
Woman, the, has a different virtue to the man, i. 13, §§ 3–12; iii. 4, § 16; shares in the deliberative faculty, i. 13, § 7.
Women, should be trained with a view to the state, i. 13, § 15; (cp. ii. 9, § 5;) cannot have the same pursuits as men, ii. 5, § 24; said to have been common among certain Libyan tribes, ib. 3, § 9; have great influence among warlike races, ib. 9, § 7; caused great harm to Sparta by their disorder and licence, ib. §§ 5–13; possessed two-fifths of the land in Laconia, ib. § 15; too proud in oligarchies to be controlled, iv. 15, § 13; have often ruined tyrannies by their insolence, v. 11, § 23; are allowed great licence in democracies and tyrannies, ib. 11, § 11; vi. 4, § 20; commonly cease to bear children after fifty, vii. 16, §§ 5, 16; should not marry too young, ib. § 6; impart their nature to their offspring, ib. § 14.
Women and children, the community of, proposed by Plato, ii. 1, § 3; 12, § 12; he has not explained whether he would extend it to the dependent classes, ib. 5, §§ 18–24; — objections of Aristotle: (1) unity would not be promoted, ib. 3, § 2; (2) there would be a general neglect of the children, ib. § 4; (3) the parentage of the children could not be concealed, ib. § 8; (4) expiations would be impossible, ib. 4, § 1; (5) the concealment of relationship would lead to unnatural crimes, ib. §§ 1–3, 10; (6) affection would be weakened, ib. §§ 4–9; (7) the transfer of children to another rank would be found impracticable, ib. § 10; (8) the household would be neglected, ib. 5, § 24.

X.

Xenelasia: *see* Strangers.
Xerxes, King of Persia, conspiracy of Artapanes against, v. 10, § 21.

Z.

Zaleucus, the Locrian legislator, ii. 12, § 7; said to have been a disciple of Thales, ib.
Zancle, seizure of, by the Samians, v. 3, § 12.
Zeugitae, the (in Solon's legislation), ii. 12, § 6.
Zeus, iii. 13, § 25; 'the father of gods and men,' i. 12, § 3; never represented by the poets as singing or playing, viii. 3, § 8: — Olympian, temple of (at Athens), built by the Peisistratidae, v. 11, § 9.

END OF VOLUME I.